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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XVIII.

LONDON,

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CHAP. LXV. *Continued.*

The History of Spain.

SECT. XVII.

History of the Reign of Don Philip IV.

Philip IV. is entirely governed by count Olivares.

PHILIP the Fourth, like his father, remained the subject of his favourite, after he became the sovereign of his people. This favourite, as we observed before, was Don Gaspar de Guzman, count de Olivares, a man of great parts and boundless ambition. The order sent by the prince to the duke of Lerma was followed with another, signed the moment he became king, to that nobleman, whom it overtook upon the road, and served only to convince him, that, in his first resolution, he had acted with prudence. The king discovered at first some sparks of spirit and genius, that were not long supported, and which, if they were afterwards remembered, served only to persuade his subjects, that indolence, and not incapacity, was his principal failing. The count, by a dextrous management, raised a great outcry against the late ministry. Under colour of enquiring into it more strictly, the duke de Uzeda was removed, and his friend the confessor

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ſeſſor remanded to tell his beads in his own monaſtery. The world, in general, approved theſe ſacrifices; but it was not ſo with another victim. Don Rodrigo Calderona, after being acquitted of all the great charges brought againſt him, was condemned for having knowlege of the death of two Spaniſh gentlemen, not over clearly proved. He ſuffered on the ſcaffold; but he ſuffered with ſo much conſtancy, and yet with ſo much humility and reſignation, that he attracted univerſal compaſſion. Great changes followed in the cabinet and the court. About the perſon of the prince the count ſcarce ſuffered any that were not his own relations; and, except his nephew, Don Lewis de Haro, none of them were diſtinguiſhed by their ſhining abilities. The miniſter had a great genius, and he did not care to be controlled [a].

A new ſcheme of politics introduced.

In regard to foreign affairs, things were conducted in a manner not very conducive to the honour of the new king. The late monarch, by a clauſe added to his will, had commanded the prince his ſon to reſtore the Valteline. In compliance with this, a treaty was concluded at Madrid with Monſ. de la Baſſompiere, in which all the proper ſtipulations were made for the reſtitution of that country, and orders for that purpoſe were to be ſent to the duke of Feria, who knew how to execute, or rather not to execute them, ſo as to keep the country; pretending a good will to reſtore it, if the catholic inhabitants might be preſerved in the free enjoyment of their religion. But by this time the new ſyſtem of the count de Olivares began to diſplay itſelf; for, having brought into public odium, and even under a kind of proſecution, the late miniſtry, for their puſillanimity in the management of affairs, it was become requiſite at leaſt, if not neceſſary, that new meaſures ſhould
A.D. 1621. be purſued. Theſe conſiſted in concluding a ſtrict league with the emperor, that, by his aſſiſtance, while France was torn with religious wars, and England amuſed with the falſe hopes of a marriage, the war in the Low Countries might be revived upon the concluſion of the truce, and both there and in Italy the authority of the crown of Spain rendered not only reſpected, but in a manner abſolute.

The count de Olivares, who, under the veil of extraordinary modeſty, concealed a ſelf-ſufficiency, that equalled him, in his own opinion, to cardinal Ximenes, would

[a] Hiſtoria de Don Phelipe IV. Rey de las Eſpanas, por Don Gonſalez de Ceſpides y Meneſes. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d' Olivares. Geddes's Miſcellaneous Tracts.

not

not seem to do any thing out of his own province; he therefore put his uncle, Don Balthazar de Zuniga, who had been the king's governor, at the head of foreign affairs. He was in reality the very opposite of his nephew; for he had that genius to which the other pretended, but with all the modesty which the duke only affected. With all this merit, however, he suffered himself to be carried away with the count's notions, and concurred with him, against the sense of all the rest of the council, to renew the war with the Dutch, notwithstanding they had shewn a great disposition to prolong the truce, or even to convert it into a solid peace [b]. This strange measure, in direct opposition to the representations made by the archduke Albert, and most of the council, was far from being acceptable to the people: but they were better pleased, at least at the beginning, with the count's causing a new court to be set up, for squeezing those who had been in the management of the finances during the former reign, by which a great sum was brought into the treasury; and, by the count's declaring, that, for the future, the public revenue should be applied only to public uses, and no gratifications or pensions granted upon any terms [c]. In Italy the people of the Valteline were still protected in their revolt, and the marquis Spinola, with the Spanish troops under his command, assisted the emperor against the Protestants, while the negociation of the infanta's marriage remained still on the carpet. By this duplicity in its behaviour, the Spanish court, by degrees, wore out the patience, and at length excited a resentment in all the great powers of Europe.

Resolution taken to renew the war with the Dutch, and to bridle Italy.

A.D. 1622.

In order to repay the obligations they were under, or at least to acknowlege them, the German branch of the house of Austria did every thing that could be desired by the crown of Spain: the emperor, in particular, granted to king Philip the investiture of Milan, Final, Piombino, and other lesser fiefs in Italy; which grants heightened the jealousies of the princes and republics to such a degree, in conjunction with the conduct of the duke of Feria, then governor of Milan, that, under the protection of the crown of France, they formed a confederacy for the recovery and preservation of their freedom [d]. The war went on in Germany and the Low Countries, and consequently the treaty of amusement with England, notwithstanding

A.D. 1623.

Unaccountable journey of Charles, prince of Wales, to the court of Madrid.

[b] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares. [c] Batt. Nani.
[d] Le Vassor, Batt. Nani.

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the infanta had declared clearly to the count de Olivares that, if it was concluded, she would retire into a monastery, and the king himself had swore that he would never give the princess his sister to a heretic [e]. However, appearances were carried so far, that the English ambassador extraordinary, the earl of Bristol, and the Spanish ambassador, count Gondemar, seem to have been both deceived. Upon their assurances, Charles prince of Wales, attended by the marquis of Buckingham, arrived at Madrid on Friday the 7th of March, very unexpectedly, and their presence, in such a situation of things, must have been very unwelcome. To cover this disgust as far as it was possible, all imaginable honours were paid him. The king, in all public places, gave him the right hand; all criminals not condemned, and all prisoners for debt, were set at liberty, the king paying their creditors, in honour of this visit. The intentions of the court were so well dissembled, though his royal highness saw his mistress but seldom, some say but once, that, after seven months stay at that court, he departed, under a full persuasion of their being in earnest. Having left full powers with the lord ambassador Bristol, he deposited a private act of revocation, to be delivered to him when the bull from Rome should come, which, if he had been apprised of the true sentiments of the court, was altogether needless. However, the two favourites quarrelled to such a degree, that Buckingham told Olivares, he would serve the king of Spain in England, at the risque of all that was dear to him, but for him, he should always find him his greatest enemy. The count answered, without the least emotion, that he hoped he would keep his promise; and that, how far soever he went in the execution of his threats, he would forgive him with all his heart [f]. The pope too, that he might shew an equal strain of sincerity, after giving all imaginable proofs of his approbation of the match, directed a brief to the count de Olivares, in which he thanked him for his steady attachment to the catholic cause, so clearly manifested by his defeating a measure so inconsistent with it as this marriage would have been. The whole transaction, when it came to be thoroughly understood, added England to the number of those great powers which studied to find out means for effectually humbling

[e] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares. [f] Wilson's History of James I. Sir Richard Wynn's Account of the Journey of Prince Charles's Servants into Spain, in the Year 1623.

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the pride, and leſſening the authority and influence of the houſe of Auſtria. Such were the firſt effects of this miniſter's refined politics!

The court of Madrid had reaſon to be well ſatisfied with the promotion of cardinal Barberini to the papal throne, under the title of Urban VIII. but though he eſpouſed their intereſts heartily, and was allowed to have managed them with great dexterity, they proved nevertheleſs ineffectual. The French miniſtry, for various reaſons, but more eſpecially on the ſcore of giving ſome aſſiſtance to the Hugonots, had conceived a very high diſlike for the conduct of Spain, which they diſcovered by preſſing the pope, who held the Valteline in a kind of ſequeſtration, to render the forts, according to the treaty of Madrid; and this point being long protracted, the marquis de Coeuvres, with the forces of the league, made a great progreſs in the diſpatch of it, by a ſhorter method than that of negotiation [g]. The pope likewiſe interfered, to prevent the king of England, Charles the Firſt, from marrying the French princeſs Henrietta Maria; and in this effort he likewiſe failed, though his nuncio at Paris went ſo far as to declare his maſter would not grant a diſpenſation. But Richlieu, who was riſing to the head of the miniſtry, told him, that this refuſal would break no ſquares with the Engliſh; for they would conclude it without [h]. It was eaſily diſcerned from this circumſtance, that thoſe crowns were embarked in the ſame deſigns. In the Low Countries, the war was carried on, but at a vaſt expence, though at the time the truce was broken, the great argument for that meaſure was, that peace or war in thoſe parts would not create a difference of fifty thouſand crowns a month [i]. The Dutch this year made themſelves maſters of the capital of Brazil; but Don Lewis de Andrada had, on the other ſide, ſome ſucceſs againſt them at ſea, as well as againſt the Moors [k].

The marquis Spinola reduces Breda, on an order conceived in half a line.

The deep policy of count Olivares had hitherto done no remarkable ſervice to the crown of Spain, but, on the contrary, provoked all her neighbours; ſo that, without the ceremony of a general alliance, they concerted to attack her this year on all ſides; the republic of Venice, and the duke of Savoy, in conjunction with the crown of France, were to proſecute the recovery of the Valteline;

A.D. 1624.

The Spaniſh dominions ſuddenly attacked on all ſides by the Engliſh, French, and Dutch.

[g] Le Vaſſor, Batt. Nani. [h] P. Daniel. [i] Hiſt. Gen. d'Eſpagne. [k] Batt. Nani, Emanuel de Faria y Souſa, La Vie du Duc d'Oſſune, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares.

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and the two latter agreed farther to conquer the city and ſtate of Genoa; the ſtates were to make great efforts by land and ſea; count Mansfield was to be furniſhed with an army ſufficient to keep the emperor employed; and the Engliſh were to invade Spain by ſea. Theſe ſchemes were not only conſtructed, but executed: however, the Conde de Olivares loſt no credit; and though this was a year in which the ſtrength of the monarchy was put to very ſevere trials, it acquired fame that more than balanced ſome little loſs. The Venetians would not concur in the expedition againſt Genoa; the French and Savoyards attempted it with great force, and with ſome degree of ſucceſs at firſt; but the Spaniards ſupported their allies with men, money, and a fleet; and the duke of Feria, invading Piedmont, quickly conſtrained the enemy to abandon all the conqueſts they had made. The Engliſh fleet and army arrived at Cadiz, which they might have taken with great eaſe, if they had proceeded with vigour; but their general, the lord viſcount Wimbledon, ſpent ſo much time in fortifying at the Puntal, that Don Ferdinand Girome tranſported in his ſight a reinforcement to Cadiz, which ſaved the place. Notwithſtanding this, they might certainly have taken the whole plate-fleet, if they had continued where they were; but ſeveral advice-boats being diſpatched from the coaſt of Spain, with orders to ſail to Corunna, ſome of them fell into the hands of the Engliſh, who thereupon directed their courſe thither, and the very next day that fleet, having miſſed all thoſe boats, arrived A.D. 1625. ſafely in the port of Cadiz[l]. This appeared an event of ſuch conſequence to the king, who would have gone in perſon to the relief of that place, if Olivares had not prevented him, that he ordered anniverſary rejoicings, on the 20th of November, to perpetuate the memory of the divine favour[m]. The quarrel of Buckingham with Olivares, as it brought this miſchief on Spain, ſo the jealouſy between that favourite and cardinal Richlieu diſappointed the meaſures that had been concerted for the recovery of the Palatinate. To crown the whole, the marquis Spinola took Breda, and Don Frederic de Toledo had great ſucceſs againſt the Dutch in Brazil. This year died the cardinal duke of Lerma at Valladolid.

The neceſſity of oppoſing ſo many enemies at once by ſea and land, and in ſo many different parts of the world,

[l] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts. [m] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares. Emanuel de Faria y Souſa.

had

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had constrained his catholic majesty to raise some extraordinary taxes upon the people; which excited some discontent. The count de Olivares proposed that the king should make a tour into Catalonia; which journey had other political reasons. In the last campaign he had been in a manner compelled to abandon the Valteline; and finding the war on that side very troublesome, he resolved, if possible, to put an end to it by a peace. He acted in this matter with great address, and caused the Spanish minister at Paris to insinuate to cardinal Richlieu, that, in a general treaty, the princes and states in Italy would be able to prescribe laws to the two crowns, which it was equally unfit and dishonourable that they should receive; but that, if they treated secretly, they might adjust all things to their own interests. His propositions were listened to, and an ambassador was sent into Spain, under pretence of complimenting the queen, lately delivered of an infanta, by whom a treaty for the restitution of the Valteline was concluded at Moncon, and ratified at Barcelona, entirely in favour of the Spaniards, and in which the French not only treated without the privity, but even sacrificed the interests, of their allies; a circumstance which disobliged the Venetians extremely, and irritated the duke of Savoy to the last degree. The duke of Feria was recalled from the government of the Milanese, which was committed to Don Gonçales de Cordova, and all the proper measures were taken to repair the naval force of Spain, and to afford what succours were necessary to the emperor. Besides, to strengthen the interests of the German line, the infanta Donna Maria, on whose account the war with England had happened, was married to Ferdinand, afterwards advanced to the imperial throne [a].

Olivares gains an advantage over Richlieu in making the peace.

A. D. 1626.

Olivares having disappointed in war the views of those who were styled the allies of Avignon, and having succeeded since in a negotiation with France, while the emperor had in a manner rendered himself absolute in Germany, he thought the opportunity was to be improved, and every step taken that might exalt the grandeur of the crown of Spain. A little incident had in this respect too much weight with him. He had induced his master, soon after his accession to the throne, to assume the title of Great, and he afterwards considered himself as under an obligation to make him so. The spirit of independency had

The war of Mantua resolved upon by Olivares contrary to the sentiments of other ministers.

[a] Frederic Leonard, tom. iv. Corps Diplomatique, tom. v. p. ii. p. 487.

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been checked in Italy by the treaty of Moncon; but the Valteline was by that treaty reſtored to the Griſons; ſo that the end of the war was defeated. The fortreſs of Cazal in the Montferrat, erected and fortified by princes who could not maintain it, immediately preſented itſelf to his view. It is true it belonged to the duke of Mantua, who was under the protection of Spain; but as it was foreſeen that a diſpute muſt ariſe about this ſucceſſion, as the branch of the houſe of Gonzagua was ſettled in France, where they had the title of Nevers, was neareſt in blood, and the houſe of Guaſtalla, being of the ſame family, pretended preference, as being Italians, he thought it very practicable, whenever the duke died, to ſeize all, till the emperor ſhould ſettle the rights of the contending princes, and then to keep Caſal as a reward for reſtoring the reſt. Into this project they drew the old duke of Savoy, and troubled not themſelves about France, ſuppoſing that the inteſtine broils in that kingdom, to which they lent ſome aſſiſtance, would keep it in a ſtate of diſtraction till their plans were brought to bear. In all theſe ſchemes they were ſoothed by aſſurances from Cordova, governor of Milan, that all might be
A.D.1627. eaſily brought about, if he was well ſupplied with money. But Vincent duke of Mantua, commiſerating the ſtate of his country, upon his death-bed ſent for the young duke of Rhetel, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Nevers, in order to marry him to his niece, that he might have a title equally clear to Montferrat and Mantua; which marriage, commanded by his laſt words, was ſolemnized in his palace, while he was yet warm. The duke of Nevers endeavoured to open a peaceable entry to his juſt rights, by teſtifying the moſt obſequious ſubmiſſion to the crown of Spain; notwithſtanding which, by the aſcendancy that Olivares had over his maſter and his councils, the war of Mantua was reſolved upon; from which reſolution we are to date the declenſion, if not the ruin, of Spain *.

Fortune declares againſt Spain almoſt every where at once.

As the Spaniards in general are politicians, the reſolution of kindling a new war in Italy excited great diſcontent; but the count, who had procured to himſelf the title of duke de St. Lucar, which, by reſignation, he meant to beſtow upon a baſtard ſon of his, was ſo perſuaded that ſucceſs muſt attend his meaſures, that he gave no great

* Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. Hiſtoire du Miniſtere du Comte Duc d'Olivares, avec des Reflexions politiques, Batt. Nani.

attention

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attention to these murmurs, which were not at all lessened by the crying down copper-money, in expectation of a large supply of silver from the West Indies. In Italy, the war being begun, Cordova and the duke of Savoy endeavoured to divide the Montferrat between them; but the former, failing in surprising, was forced to besiege Casal, which was obstinately defended. On the other hand, the duke of Savoy demanding assistance to shut the French out of Italy, the Spaniards were forced to weaken an army that was before scarce equal to the siege. The correspondence also held with the duke of Rohan and the Protestants in France, not having been able to save Rochelle, and cardinal Richlieu, after the surrender of that place, having prevailed upon the king his master to go in person with a numerous army to the assistance of the duke of Mantua; the spirits of the Italians rose to such a degree, that Cordova was neither able to take Casal, nor to keep the duke of Savoy in that degree of subjection which was expected by the court of Madrid. Add to all this, that the Dutch admiral, Peter Adrianson, defeated a Spanish fleet in America, of which he burnt part, and brought a great booty home. On the 8th of September, Peter Heyn took the galleons in the neighbourhood of the Havannah, and acquired thereby for his masters, the West India company, eight millions of florins in silver at least, which, as it proved of very great advantage to the affairs of the republic, so, in many other respects, besides the immediate loss of such a treasure, it was highly detrimental to the concerns of Spain [p]. A.D.1628.

The arrival of the French king with his forces on the frontiers of Piedmont, where he forced the pass of Suza, obliged the duke of Savoy to a treaty, and the governor of Milan to raise the siege of Casal; but the disorders of France requiring the king's return, the Spaniards had time to bring a body of Germans into Italy. They likewise sent the famous marquis Spinola to restore their affairs on that side, and furnished him so plentifully with money, that the inhabitants of the Low Countries, still in obedience to his Catholic majesty, looked upon themselves as abandoned, and actually sent an agent to Madrid, to make strong remonstrances for assistance, since otherwise it was impossible for them to defend themselves [q]. These disappoint- *The birth of prince Don Balthazar happened very luckily for the minister.*

[p] Hist. Gen. d'Hispan. Histoire d'Hollande, par M. de la Neuville. [q] Batt. Nani. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. Cespides.

ments

ments gave the conde duke some disturbance, heightened the popular distaste against him, and might have had worse effects, if the queen had not been delivered, on the 27th of October, of the prince Don Balthazar, to the infinite joy both of the court and nation, and to the great benefit of the house of Austria. The conde duke, for so he was pleased to be called, as affecting a kind of singular behaviour in every thing, might have taken opportunity, from this incident, to have made some propositions of peace; but instead of taking this step, he entered into a new treaty with the duke of Rohan, promising him mighty things, if he would revive the troubles in that kingdom. This negotiation, however, had not the desired effect; and the German soldiers perishing in great numbers in Italy, and the dispositions made by the Swedes to succour the Protes-
A.D. 1629. tants in Germany, who were driven to the last extremity, kindled the flame of a general war, which, by a kind of unanimity little known to politicians, all Europe ascribed to the ambition and obstinacy of Olivares [1].

Cardinal Richlieu penetrates through Savoy, and changes the face of affairs in Italy.

All hopes of succeeding in the project for bridling Italy were now devolved upon the marquis Spinola, who had orders to besiege and to reduce Casal, one of the best fortifications in Italy, with a numerous garrison, composed mostly of French troops, commanded by marshal Thoiras, and well supplied with provisions. It was supposed that the French, by their intestine distractions, would be withheld from any new irruption, and the correspondencies in Mantua, and even in the family of the new duke, would suddenly produce great effects. Spinola did all in his power to execute his commission, but was foiled notwithstanding by a most obstinate resistance. The duke de Richlieu, vested with the title of generalissimo, and followed by a gallant army, penetrated into Piedmont, and was very near seizing the duke of Savoy and his son, which incident, with other disgraces and disappointments, affected the mind of the duke to such a degree, that he died of
A.D. 1630. discontent [2]. Mantua was indeed surprised, the duke and his family expelled, and the city and palace plundered; events which only served to increase that hatred against the Spaniards in Italy, that was but too strong already; for the marquis Spinola dying of resentment of the reproofs he received from Spain, and Ferdinand taking upon him to make a peace at Ratisbon with the French, Casal was

[1] Histoire Gen. d'Hispan. [2] Le Vassor, Batt. Nani. Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par M. Le Clerc.

saved

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ſaved out of their hands, and the outlines of a peace were drawn, which did no honour to the councils at Madrid [t]. The infanta Donna Maria, queen of Hungary, was this year ſent into Germany; but the promiſes made by Philip IV. to his ſubjects in the Low Countries, that he would come to redreſs all their grievances in perſon, proved a mere deluſion, and excited that diſtruſt, which afterwards was heightened into an abſolute contempt of the declarations that came from Spain [u].

The treaty of Queraſque, and great reſpect paid to the cardinal both at home and abroad.

In order to prevent the reſtoration of peace in Italy, Olivares ſent Feria again into Milan, depending on the temper and abilities of the man, who was naturally an enemy to quiet. He laboured to ſeduce the duke of Mantua from his allies by magnificent promiſes, to bring Victor duke of Savoy into a cloſer dependence upon Spain than ever his father had been, to create jealouſy in the Venetians, and new commotions in the Valteline; but without effect. The treaty of Queraſque ſettled the peace of Italy for the preſent. It not only procured the beſt part of his dominions, with the emperor's inveſtiture for the duke of Mantua, but contrary to the expectations of the Spaniards, the ſtrong fortreſs of Pignerol, by purchaſe from the duke of Savoy, fell into the hands of the French, and an army of Griſons and Switzers under the command of the duke of Rohan, now reconciled to France, acted for the defence of the Valteline; ſo that all the ſchemes of Olivares and all the intrigues of Feria, were totally defeated [w]. In Germany, the power of the emperor, on which Spain had ſo much depended, was in a great meaſure broken, and new complaints and demands were brought from all quarters to Madrid. To ſatisfy, as far as poſſible, the deſires of the people, the infant Don Carlos was ſent viceroy to Portugal, the cardinal infant appointed to the government of the Low Countries, and the marquis de Santa Croce ſent thither to command the forces [x]. At ſea Don Antonio de Oequendo, with a ſtrong fleet, equipped with great difficulty, proceeded to the coaſt of Brazil, where he attacked a Dutch ſquadron, commanded by admiral Pater. Of ſixteen ſail ten fled without fighting; but becauſe the Spaniards had the good luck to ſink one ſhip, and to blow up another, which carried the

[t] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. [u] Le Clerc.
[w] Hiſtoire Gen. d'Hiſpan. Batt. Nani. [x] Le Clerc. Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares.

flag,

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A.D. 1631. flag with the admiral on board, medals were struck in honour of the victory, with the king's head on one side, and Samson rending the lion on the reverse. This success, however, was quickly qualified by the loss of no less than sixty vessels in the Low Countries, and fourteen others burnt and destroyed, with the loss of many thousand men, and a prodigious quantity of military and naval stores [y]. This year the Spaniards received the queen-mother of France, and her son the duke of Orleans, into their protection, fully persuaded that this step would contribute to the ruin of cardinal Richlieu, whom his master thereupon created duke and peer of France; and the senate of Venice, by an unanimous vote, received him into the number of their nobility, to the no small mortification of Olivares, who considered him very justly as his implacable enemy.

New methods practised for reviving the old scheme of universal influence.

King Philip concluded this year a treaty with the emperor, to enable him to defend himself the better against the Swedes; and, for the security of the Italian provinces, entered into negotiations with the duke of Savoy and the Genoese. Don Gonçales de Cordova was sent to command the auxiliaries in the Palatinate, and the infant Don Carlos declared generalissimo by sea, for the relief of Tangier, which was besieged by the Moors. Don Antonio de Oquendo had some degree of success against the Dutch in Brazil; but on the side of the Low Countries, both the A.D. 1632. states and the French were very successful [z]. In the mean time the infant Don Carlos, brother to the king, died at Madrid; the prince Balthazar was acknowleged heir apparent of the Spanish monarchy, and the cardinal infant began to prepare for his journey into the Low Countries, where he was to succeed the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia in the government of those provinces [a]. A new tax, though laid upon persons in easy circumstances, added to the general distaste which prevailed against Olivares, already so unfortunate as to have every thing that happened amiss attributed to him, and particularly the death of the infant, a prince of a restless and active spirit, whom it was given out the conde duke had removed by poison [b].

The cardinal infant being come to Milan, found his progress stopped in the route he intended to have taken; to open which the duke of Feria marched with an army of

[y] Hist. de Hollande, par Monsieur de la Neuville. [z] Le Clerc, P. Daniel, Cespides. [a] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur de la Neuville. [b] Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

twelve

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twelve thousand men, who performed indeed what he was sent for, and relieved the city of Constance; but it was so late in the year, that the cardinal found himself obliged to continue where he was. At sea and in Brazil the Dutch had various advantages; and, in the Low Countries, affairs were daily falling from bad to worse; for the forces and the treasures of Spain were employed in such a degree for the service of the emperor, or rather in support of the common interests of the house of Austria in Germany, that they were not in a condition to look after their own concerns [c]. Into this conduct they were at first led by a fond hope, that when the emperor should, by their assistance, have triumphed over the Protestants, and all other opponents in Germany, he would concur with them in the reduction of the Low Countries to the state they were in at the death of the emperor Charles the Fifth.

Cardinal infant arrives at Milan, in his way to the Low Countries.

A.D. 1633

After endeavours had been used in vain to bring the duke of Savoy back to his former connections, persuasions, with better success, were tried with his two brothers; insomuch that prince Thomas, having sent his wife and children into Spain, retired to Brussels, while cardinal Maurice at Rome declared openly for the emperor and the king of Spain [d]. On the other hand, the republic of Genoa, resenting highly the decision, which, in his brother's name, the cardinal infant Don Ferdinand had made in respect to the disputes between them and the duke of Savoy, put themselves under the protection of France, and acted with a vigour and dignity becoming a free state. In the mean time, his catholic majesty's minister at the imperial court, count de Ognate, by the instructions of Olivares, first accused, before the privy council, the famous general Wallenstein, and afterwards proposed his assassination; which being effected, gained great applause to a measure that would otherwise have been universally condemned [e]. The duke of Feria being dead at Munich, the marquis de Leganez took the command of the army till the arrival of the cardinal infant, who, in conjunction with the king of Hungary, his brother-in-law, engaged and defeated the Swedes, and their confederates. The marquis de Aytona, who governed the Low Countries, till the cardinal's arrival, with great spirit, had, under colour of a conspiracy, arrested some of the princi-

The republic of Genoa detaches herself from the Spaniards in favour of the French.

[c] Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur de la Neuville. [d] Histoire General d'Espagne. Le Clerc. [e] Batt. Nani. Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares. Le Vassor.

pal

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pal nobility, and forced others to fly. The king Don Philip and the conde duke, having first very roughly interrogated the duke of Aremberg, who had been sent as deputy from the nobles to the court, as to the same conspiracy, because he would not accuse himself and his friends, caused him to be arrested in their presence, and sent to a close prison [f]. In this situation the cardinal infant took possession of the government, where, notwithstanding these bold steps, the town of Dunkirk refused to admit a garrison that he sent thither. Gaston duke of Orleans, after making several treaties with the crown of Spain, for the invasion of his native country, and the disturbance of his brother's government, which were indifferently performed on both sides, finding himself become inconsiderable in the eyes of strangers, and being sold, as he commonly was, by one of his favourites, returned privately into France, and thereby saved the Spaniards a great expence, which had never answered their purpose [g]. The
A.D.1634. conde duke, however, forming new designs, assembled a great naval force, of which having given the command to the marquis of Santa Croce, the Genoese, as he accepted it without their leave, ordered his name to be struck out of the list of their nobility [h].

The crown of France declares war against the cardinal infant Don Ferdinand.

All these enterprizes of the crowns of France and Spain against each other, as they were in reality the fruits of that animosity which reigned between Richlieu and Olivares, were carried on without a war declared. But the cardinal infant, governor of the Low Countries, having surprised Treves, and made the elector prisoner, sent him to Vienna, to answer to the emperor for having admitted a French garrison. Lewis XIII. having demanded him from the cardinal infant, and being refused, declared war in form. This declaration was followed by an army, which having defeated that of the Spaniards, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy, threatened great mischief, but, through the interposition of a variety of accidents, performed little. On the side of Italy things were in greater confusion; the duke of Rohan, having reeeived considerable reinforcements, secured the Valte-
A.D.1635. line for the French, who, entering through Piedmont with an army commanded by the duke of Crequi, invaded the Milanese. There they were joined by the duke of

[f] Cespides, Histoire de Hollande, par Monsieur de la Neuville.
[g] Le Vassor, Le Clerc. [h] Batt Nani, Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivarez.

Parma,

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Parma, and brought with them the duke of Savoy, whose inclinations, however, were thought to be on the other side; and therefore, though this irruption promised fair, yet the event was not equal to those promises. This disappointment was chiefly owing to the conduct of the Venetians, who maintained that neutrality which their interest dictated, with a firmness and dignity worthy of that prudence for which they have been always famous. The Spanish fleet, upon which Olivares much relied, as being composed of many large ships, with seven thousand Spanish troops on board, sailed at length for the coast of Provence, under the command of the duke of Ferandina and the marquis of Santa Croce; but, in their passage, met with a storm, by which they were dispersed, and seven gallies lost. Being, after much loss of time, once again brought into order, they attacked the islands of Hieres, and reduced them, for which exploit the marquis of Santa Croce was rewarded with the viceroyalty of Catalonia [i].

Spain would be thought to desire peace, and yet arrogantly refuses passports for a treaty.

In Italy the Italian princes had this year good reason to repent their having entered so far into the jealousies of the two crowns, as to make their own country the seat of war; for the duchies of Parma and Modena were grievously spoiled, as well as the Milanese, by the irruption of the Spaniards, though, after a battle, the marquis of Leganez drove them out, and then with his cavalry ravaged Piedmont, so that destruction was spread on every side, without any great advantage to either party [k]. In the Low Countries, prince Thomas of Savoy, with the assistance of the emperor's generals, pushed the war with effect: having taken some places in Picardy, he struck such terror into the inhabitants of Paris, that the cardinal once advised the king his master to retire to Orleans; but, prince Thomas being in no condition to maintain his conquests, they were, when the French had recovered their spirits, very speedily retaken [l]. The Spanish fleets, attempting to put into the harbour of Genoa, were refused licence, upon certain suspicions, which heightened the hatred they had conceived against that republic. The conde duke, to display his power, and to shew his influence over his master, caused his relation, the duke de Medina de la Torres, to be declared viceroy of Naples for eight months; that while he held this dignity, he might

A.D. 1636.

[i] Anecd. du Compte-Duc d'Olivares, Cespides. [k] Batt. Nani. [l] Le Vassor, Le Clerc.

espouse

eſpouſe the princeſs of Stigliano; after which marriage, the count de Monteray reſuming that government, the duke had the viceroyalty of Sicily beſtowed upon him. In the winter both ſides ſeemed inclined to peace, and the city of Cologne was appointed for the conferences; but when paſſports were required for the plenipotentiaries of the proteſtants of the empire, and of the ſtates general of the United Provinces, they were refuſed by the emperor and the king of Spain, the former affirming, that he looked upon thoſe princes as his vaſſals, and the latter avowing, that he conſidered the Dutch in no better light than that of rebels [m].

The Griſons are prevailed upon to drive out the duke of Rohan, and reſume the Valteline.

Experience having taught the duke of Parma with how little advantage princes of his rank embark in the quarrels of great monarchs, finding himſelf blocked up in one of his capitals, and his dominions ſurrounded by the Spaniards, he made his peace by the ſurrender of Sabionetta, and put an hundred thouſand crowns into his pocket, under pretence of repairing his fortifications. By a proper uſe of ſoft perſuaſions, accompanied with a dextrous diſtribution of money, the Griſons were prevailed upon to expel the duke of Rohan, and reſume their ſovereignty of the Valteline, under the protection of a perpetual league with Spain: but, to balance theſe ſucceſſes, the French recovered the iſlands of Hieres, and made ſome progreſs in the Low Countries, under favour of which the prince of Orange recovered Breda in nine weeks, in reducing which the marquis Spinola had ſpent nine months [n]. The conde duke, hoping to ſet all right, invaded Languedoc with a numerous army, commanded by the duke of Cardona and count Corbelon, who beſieged Leucat; but duke Schomberg, who was governor of that province, with a ſmall army, compoſed chiefly of militia, forced their trenches in the night, and obliged them to abandon the ſiege with the loſs of all their cannon [o]. In the courſe of this year died the emperor Ferdinand II. Victor duke of Savoy, and Charles duke of Mantua [p]. The famous imperial general Picolomini, by the conſent of his maſter, entered into the ſervice of Spain, and the duke of Medina de la Torres, by the influence of his protector Olivarez, was removed from the viceroyalty of Sicily to that of Naples [q].

A.D. 1637.

[m] Ceſp, & al. ſup, citat. [n] Hiſt. de Hollande, par Monſieur de la Neuville, Le Vaſſor, Ceſpides. [o] Hiſt. de Languedoc. [p] Batt Nani, Le Clerc. [q] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares.

The

The situation of things in Italy was certainly favourable to Spain, and her ministers and generals lost no opportunity of improving them. The marquis de Leganez took several places in Savoy, where the marshal de Crequi was killed, and all the endeavours of the cardinal de la Valette, to restore the affairs of that country, were baffled; while, on the other hand, the princess dowager of Mantua was persuaded to change sides, and to commit the protection of herself, her son, and her dominions, to the emperor and the crown of Spain. In Germany the affairs of the house of Austria went on prosperously: in the Low Countries they were unusually successful; the cardinal infant Don Ferdinand routed the young count William of Nassau with great loss, and made a capture of seventy barks laden with naval and military stores; his father, the prince of Orange, having besieged Gueldres, the cardinal forced him in his entrenchments, and gained a complete victory. The prince of Conde, with the duke de la Valette, having laid siege to Fontarabia, an army was speedily assembled for its relief, under the command of the amirante of Castile, who, with great spirit and bravery, attacked the French in their lines, and forced them to raise the siege, with considerable loss, and with equal shame and confusion [r]. There happened also a fight at sea, in which both sides claimed the victory: but, what was esteemed of more consequence, there happened this year an insurrection in Portugal, and the insurgents proclaimed the duke of Braganza king, of which incident that prince was so far from taking any advantage, that he withdrew himself far enough out of their reach, as if he had been afraid of having the crown forced upon him [s]. Such an unusual turn of good fortune could not but be extremely welcome to the Spanish nation; and it would have been much more so, if the king had not persuaded himself that it was so entirely due to the counsels of the conde duke, as to heap upon him all the rewards which the generality of his subjects thought due to other men's endeavours. In accepting these, the minister himself was much to blame, as well as in treating with the contempt he did, not only the far greater part of the grandees, but also the people of certain provinces, which were once kingdoms, whose privileges he considered as fetters on the royal authority. He made no difficulty of avowing, that the great object of his wishes was to emancipate the

Unexpected good fortune renders the conde duke more insolent than ever.

A.D. 1638.

[r] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares. [s] Supplement to Faria y Sousa's History of Portugal, by Captain John Stevens.

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crown from these chains, from a persuasion, that, till the king was absolute at home, he could not dictate as the conde duke desired he should to the other powers of Europe.

He persists in his resolution of having Casal, and sends orders accordingly to M. de Leganez.

The two princes of Savoy, supported by the emperor's authority, and the assistance of the Spaniards, pushed things very far in Piedmont, under colour of their having a title to the regency of their nephew. At length, prince Thomas, who was a gallant man and a great general, surprised the city of Turin, the duchess-dowager escaping half-naked into the citadel: but the prince becoming jealous of the marquis of Leganez, and fearing he would put a Spanish garrison into the place, did not press that fortress so much as he might have done, and at length prevailed upon him to consent to a truce for some months, which gave great advantage to the French; while, on the other hand, Olivares, who never departed from a point he had proposed, sharply reproved the marquis for not reducing Casal; telling him, that he regarded nothing as done in Italy while that was left undone[t]. At length the count de Harcourt, advancing with a very small force into Piedmont, renewed the war with advantage. In the Low Countries, Picolomini forced the lines of Thionville, and obliged the French to decamp. An armada from Spain, commanded by Oequendo, consisting of upwards of three-score sail, passed through the English channel, towards the coast of Flanders; but were attacked in their passage by the Dutch admiral Van Tromp, notwithstanding their having all the protection they could expect from the English. This fleet had a very large sum of money on board, which, with the largest ships, arrived safe in Dunkirk; but many others being taken, sunk, and destroyed, the Dutch, with good reason, celebrated this as a great victory[u]. The duke of Modena being now in Spain, his catholic majesty bestowed upon him the order of the Golden Fleece, and gave him the title of Highness, with which he was extremely pleased. The marquis of Leganez was likewise raised to the much envied honour of grandee of Spain, as well in regard of his services, as because he was descended from the then favoured house of Guzman, and his posterity in our times inherited the duchy of St. Lucar.

A.D. 1639.

The war in Italy, which had so long occupied the attention of the conde duke, was at length, in his opinion, on

[t] Batt. Nani, Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares. [u] Hist. de Hollande, par Monsieur de la Neuville.

the

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the point of terminating to the advantage of Spain by the reduction of Casal, in which the French had but a thin garrison; and the Spaniards, having concluded a treaty with the dowager princess of Mantua, derived from thence some intelligence in the place, which had no succours to expect, as the French had no troops in the field. The governor, M. de la Tour, an old experienced officer, prepared to make the best defence possible; and the method he took suggested hopes to the Spaniards, that he would scarce make any defence at all. His forces being weak, he made no sallies; and the Spaniards being left at liberty to fortify their camp without disturbance, did it much at their leisure, and with a view chiefly of cutting off all provisions from the place, but without attending much to their line of circumvallation, persuaded on that side they had nothing to fear. The count de Harcourt, however, who commanded in Savoy, having exact intelligence of the situation things were in, collected all the forces he could, though their number was but small. With these he advanced towards Casal, brought the first news of his own march, and attacked the Spaniards so vigorously, that, after the loss of three thousand men upon the spot, they quitted their lines, and for the most part disbanded, leaving their tents, baggage, and artillery, to the conquerors [w]. At his return into Savoy, the count, with an army smaller than would be now thought requisite for its garrison, invested Turin, which was bravely defended by prince Thomas: yet, notwithstanding several attempts made by the marquis of Leganez for its relief, but without success, it was surrendered towards the close of September [x]. Soon after this event, prince Thomas reconciled himself to the French by a treaty, negociated with great secrecy by the famous cardinal Mazarine. In the Palatinate the Spanish troops had some advantages; but in the Low Countries they lost the important city of Arras, notwithstanding the cardinal-infant made a generous attempt to relieve it, which very much raised his reputation, though it was not in his power to save the place. On the side of Spain itself, the French had taken Salses, and some other places in Rousillon, which the Spaniards easily recovered [y].

That enterprize unaccountably defeated, and the Spanish army beaten.

A.D.1640.

The conde duke was by no means pleased with the distinct privileges of certain provinces, and meditated the reduction of all Spain, under what he styled one form of go-

Olivares forms a design of depriving the Catalans of their privileges.

w Le Vassor, Cespides. x Batt. Nani. y Le Clerc, & al.

vernment, which was generally suspected to differ little, if at all, from a despotic monarchy. It is no wonder, therefore, that, to a minister with these notions, the Catalans should be in a particular manner odious, since they were the freest of all his catholic majesty's subjects. He had, the very last time the king was at Barcelona, prevailed upon him to leave that city, while the states were sitting in it, abruptly, and induced him from that time to treat whatever applications they made by their deputies very roughly [z]. The Catalans instead of stooping to him, had behaved on their side very cavalierly, refusing not only to make any application, in order to recover his favour, but refusing to have any correspondence with him whatever, and, in all their remonstrances, told the king plainly, that they looked upon Olivares as their declared enemy, and for that reason unworthy of his majesty's confidence. This contempt, without doubt, heightened his resentment, of which they would have felt the effects, if they had not been protected by the situation of their country, covered on every side by almost inaccessible mountains, except where it is bounded by the sea; and, besides, so contiguous to France, that the inhabitants might be easily supported from thence, if they should ever be driven to demand the protection of that crown: but the expedition into Rousillon had removed these difficulties, and had carried an army into that country, to which the Catalans contributed a corps of their own troops, who quitted it before the end of the campaign, being persuaded that they were sacrificed by the king's forces, whose duty it was to have supported them [a].

The Catalans revolt universally, and murder their vice-roy.

After the reduction of Salses, the army had orders to take their winter quarters in Catalonia, in direct breach of their privileges; and, as if this infringement had not been enough, they were allowed to live there with such licence as would scarce have been excusable in an enemy's country. Murders were common, rapes more frequent, robberies practised daily with impunity; complaints made to their officers produced no relief, and remonstrances at court were received with a coldness that differed little from contempt [b]. This opposition produced a universal discontent, which was blown into a flame by the inconsiderate conduct of the count de St. Coloma, who was then vice-

[z] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares. [a] Hist. du Ministere du Comte Duc d'Olivares, Cespid. [b] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares, Hist. Gen. d'Espagne.

roy.

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way. He, under pretence of wanting money to pay the troops, ſeized a large ſum belonging to the city of Barcelona; and, upon one of their magiſtrates going to expoſtulate with him, ſent him to priſon, from whence the people in general, taking arms, quickly delivered him. The viceroy, whoſe courage was juſt as great as his prudence, fled immediately to the arſenal, where not thinking himſelf ſafe, notwithſtanding all the aſſurances the magiſtrates could give, he ordered a galley, which he had long kept upon the coaſt, in caſe of falling into ſuch an extremity, to anchor as near the arſenal as poſſible: yet, though the paſſage was not very long, he fell into the hands of the populace, who, in the firſt tranſport of their fury, murdered him, and then, deſpairing of pardon, made themſelves maſters of Barcelona. In a few days the revolt became general, the Spaniſh ſoldiers were everywhere driven out, and glad to eſcape with their lives. Some attempts were made by the interpoſition of the old ducheſs of Caldona, and the pope's nuncio, to pacify the people, with promiſe of a general pardon; but theſe had no effect; an army was quickly raiſed of thirty thouſand men, under the command of the marquis de los Velez, himſelf a Catalan, but hated by his countrymen, as a creature of the miniſter's [c].

The marquis de los Velez ſent to extinguiſh the revolt, and inflames it by ſeverity.

At the time he put himſelf at the head of this army, the marquis received a private order from Olivares to proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity, as well as with the greateſt expedition. He did not fail in either; which conduct, however, had no other effect than to make thoſe deſperate who were already exaſperated. He advanced directly to Barcelona, taking, with little reſiſtance, ſeveral places in his way, which he deſtroyed without mercy [d]. The Catalans were in the utmoſt conſternation, and, if mercy had been then promiſed, would certainly have ſubmitted; for though they had offered themſelves to France, yet, as it required ſome time to ſettle the terms, they had received very ſlender ſupplies from thence, under the command of Mr. St. Paul: yet, even theſe encouraged them to defend themſelves with ſpirit, ſince they had to do with men from whom victory alone could procure them ſafety. The marquis made three attacks on the fort Montjuic, which commands the city, and was, though with great difficulty, repulſed, chiefly by the courage and conduct of the French

[c] Ceſpides, Batt. Nani, Le Vaſſor. [d] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares.

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officers; for the Catalans, having been purposely kept from the use of arms for many years, discovered but little of their ancient bravery, which, however, interest and discipline quickly restored, and, before the end of the winter, the enemy were obliged to abandon a great part of their conquests. This ill success was very mortifying to Olivares, who, with some difficulty, had prevented the king from marching against them in person, from an apprehension that his majesty might have received informations no ways suitable to his interests. The sense he had of this danger, and of the immediate necessity of subduing this people before they entered into a settled connection with foreigners, added to the natural rigour and violence of his own temper, put him upon those measures which produced still greater calamities; and, while he was intent upon extinguishing one flame, he lighted another that never could be brought under. Great part of the army then in Catalonia was composed of Portuguese: the conde duke resolved to draw his reinforcements from the same country, for, hating the Portuguese as much as he did the Catalans, he weakly imagined that he might make them reciprocally the instruments of his resentment. At least, he was desirous of bringing the principal nobility of Portugal to serve in an army at a distance from their own country, that, at the same time that they were incapable of doing hurt themselves, they might serve as hostages for the obedience of those they left at home. He was misled by that constant submission which he saw paid to his orders in the court, and he vainly fancied that he was to be implicitly obeyed wherever his orders reached.[s]

Revolution of Portugal, through the obstinate rigour of the conde duke's conduct.

We are, in the succeeding section, to explain the motives and management of the revolution in Portugal, and therefore we shall content ourselves with observing here some other instances of the pains taken by the conde duke to facilitate the ascent of the duke of Braganza to the throne, while he was so infatuated to believe that he should allure that prince to Madrid, where, if he had once arrived, he would never have been permitted to return to Portugal. In order to take away all grounds of suspicion, Olivares had declared the duke general of the forces in Portugal, and had weakened most of the Spanish garrisons, that he might seem to repose all upon his loyalty; and yet, if he had visited any one fort upon the Tagus, he would have been surprised, and sent prisoner into

[s] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares, Cespides.

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Spain. At the same time that he dissembled with the duke, he drove the rest of the nobility into despair, requiring of them what it was not in their power to perform, and threatening the severest chastisements if they refused to obey. The instruments upon which he relied were two natives of Portugal, mean in their birth, infamous in their characters, insolent to the last degree in their behaviour; one of these, Diego Suarez, residing at Madrid, with the title of secretary of state; and the other, Michael Vasconcellos his brother, and son-in-law, who had the minister's secret, resided as secretary to the vice-queen at Lisbon. The person honoured with this empty title was the infanta Donna Margaret of Savoy, duchess-dowager of Mantua, and grand-daughter to Philip II. a princess very capable of governing that kingdom, whom, notwithstanding her birth, Olivares treated with contempt, and suffered to be still worse treated by the engine of his intrigues, her secretary. The nobility in general, seeing themselves condemned to exile and slavery, believed it impossible to escape the punishment of rebels, but by raising a rebellion: the weakness of the Spanish government persuaded them this expedient was easy. The behaviour of the Catalans encouraged them; they wanted only a proper head, and the duke of Braganza, who had a fair title to the crown, was continually in their sight. They made him an offer of it, and, by the advice of his duchess, he accepted it. The design was managed with prudence, vigour, and secresy, yet the vice-queen had some intelligence, or rather some suspicion, of it: she gave advice to the conde duke, but her advices were neglected and despised. The confederates gained some lights in their turn, and these obliged them to act sooner than they intended, but with so much unanimity and courage, that Lisbon was surprised, Don Juan IV. proclaimed, the vice-queen made prisoner, the fleet seized, the fortresses were reduced, the Spaniards driven out, and a new government settled, in less than a month [f].

In Italy the affairs of Spain went backwards; the count de Harcourt and Monsieur de Turenne performed great things in Savoy, though they had but a small army. The marquis de Leganez did what he could; but that was little, being stinted in supplies, and suspected by his friends. The prince of Monaco, whom the Spaniards had long treated as their slave, revolted, and put the place into the

A.D. 1641.

The death of the cardinal infant, governor of the Low Countries and archbishop of Toledo.

[f] Stevens's Supplement to Sousa's History of Portugal.

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hands of the French [g]. In Spain itself, where they had the war on both sides, the minister determined to push it in Catalonia, where the marquis de los Velez reduced Tarragona, and did all that could be expected towards taking Barcelona; but the terror, distress, and confusion of the Catalans, having obliged them to submit to cardinal Richlieu's terms, the French sent marshal de la Mothe Houdantcourt, with more puissant supplies, and made also some diversions in their favour; so that by the end of the year the marquis was less able to complete the reduction of the province than he had been at the beginning. The projects of Olivares were always out of the common road. When he gave the king notice of the revolution in Portugal, he wished him joy of the duke of Braganza's large forfeiture, as if it had been as easy to reduce Portugal as it had been to raise a rebellion there [h]: yet, during this year he attempted little or nothing, only he appointed the duke of Medina Sidonia to command on the frontiers, whose sister the new king had married; a circumstance which occasioned many speculations; but, in truth, he depended on a conspiracy, which was very near succeeding. This being discovered, he threw some imputations upon the duke, and sent for him to court, where he justified himself so well as to escape punishment, though some have thought, that if the people of Andalusia had been as well disposed as himself, he would have attempted, with the assistance of the French fleet in the Mediterranean, to establish an independent sovereignty in that fair and fruitful province: but the most fatal event was in the Low Countries, where the cardinal infant recovered Aire, a place of great importance, with many circumstances of honour: yet he did not live to take possession of the town; for, falling ill of a fever in the camp, and his distemper being mistaken by his physicians, upon his removal to Brussels, it appeared to be the small-pox, of which he died on the 9th of November, in the thirty-second year of his age [i]. He was succeeded, for the present, by Don Francisco de Melo; and though, in hopes of some disturbance, Lewis XIII. appeared in person on the frontiers, yet nothing of that kind happened, and Don Francisco took possession of Aire on the 7th of December following [k].

[g] Batt. Nani. [h] Stevens's Supplement, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. [i] Le Clerc, Cespides. [k] Hist. Medallique des Pays Bas, par Gerard Van Loon, tom. ii. p. 255. Le Vassor, Batt. Nani.

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This series of ill fortune, which ought to have opened the eyes of the catholic king and his ministers, seemed to infatuate both. The great secret by which Olivares had governed his master was being the companion, or at least the confident, of his pleasures. While he affected to deceive the world with a specious appearance of religion and piety, he was not only immersed in vice himself, but encouraged and promoted it in his prince, to the scandal of his subjects, and the prejudice of his affairs. At this time, of all others the most improper, Olivares produced a bastard of his, hitherto called Julian: he had taken so little care of this son, that, not able to subsist in Spain, he had passed over to the Indies, where, in very mean stations, he had scarce got bread. On him he now bestowed the name of Don Henrico de Guzman, and, bringing him with great pomp and splendour to court, either flattered or forced the constable of Castile to give him his daughter; in consideration of which alliance he was to devolve upon him his duchy of St. Lucar[l]. In the beginning of his administration, by some accident or other, he presented to the king a memorial, in relation to an affair, upon which his majesty had already received one from Don Balthasar de Zuniga; upon comparing them, they contradicted each other flatly. The king ordered a person of great quality to enquire thoroughly into this business, in consequence of which Don Balthasar's memorial appeared to be the truth, and that of Olivares the reverse of it. The king was very angry; but the count regained his favour, by procuring for him the fair actress Calderona. By this woman he had a son, of whom no great notice was taken; but now, to obscure the folly of the conde duke, this youth, scarce in the fourteenth year of his age, was produced, with the title of Don Juan of Austria, and declared generalissimo of the army against Portugal, while the heir apparent to the crown, Don Balthasar, was left under the tuition, or rather in the custody, of the countess of Olivares; at which conduct the queen was chagrined, the people enraged, and the world in general astonished [m].

A.D. 1642.

Amazing instances of infatuation both in the king and in the conde duke.

In Italy the fear of Spain was wore away, and the profound respect that had been paid to her began to follow it. Things would even have proceeded farther, if the growing power of France had not engaged the prudent politicians, for which that country was always famous, to prop that

That minister's schemes every where, and in every kind, broken and defeated.

[l] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares. [m] Cespides, Batt. Nani.

structure

structure which they might eaſily have pulled down. King Philip was reſolved to go in perſon againſt the Catalans; the conde duke diſſuaded, but was not able to prevent it; however, the king went no farther than Saragoſſa, and that with ſuch numerous attendance, and with ſo great an expence, that, inſtead of haſtening, it retarded the campaign. The conde duke attended, and provided all poſſible amuſements and diverſions in the courſe of the journey, which, however, proved none of the moſt pleaſant. Cardinal Richlieu had brought the king his maſter from Paris with a numerous army, under the command of the marſhal la Mellierai; but whether with an intent to paſs into Italy, or the frontiers of Spain, was not known. At length the ſtorm burſt upon Rouſſillon, where the army attacked Coliva, in order to open a paſſage to the ſiege of Perpignan. Olivares underſtanding that it was ill provided, ordered it to be relieved by a body of three thouſand horſe. Perſons who were well verſed in military affairs, aſſured him the thing was impracticable: he heard them, and repeated his orders. The forwardneſs always ſhewn to fulfil the deſires of a powerful favourite, engaged many officers, and ſome perſons of diſtinction, to offer themſelves as volunteers, though they knew the expedition was exceedingly hazardous, as they were to march amongſt high mountains, and to traverſe a part of Catalonia, then in open rebellion. They did, however, all that was to be done; they attempted it, and, being entangled in an impaſſable country, from which the peaſants had conveyed every thing that was eatable, with enemies on every ſide, without having the power either of fighting or flying, they were obliged to deliver up their arms, their colours, and horſes, and to render themſelves priſoners of war, to prevent being ſtarved [n]. Coliva being taken, Perpignan was inveſted, in which the governor, the Marquis Flores d'Avila, made a long, a gallant, and prudent defence; but it was to little purpoſe; for, though the miniſter ſpared not either for treaſure or trouble, he was not able to aſſemble an army till the place was loſt [o]. Theſe ſtrokes of ill fortune were doubled by his preventing any advantage from being made of great and unexpected ſucceſs. The French, who had not then ſo great armies as they have ſince raiſed, in order to ſtrengthen that which went with the king, had left only two ſmall corps of troops on the frontiers, towards

[n] Batt. Nani. [o] Hiſt. du Miniſtere du Comte Duc d'Olivares, avec des Reflections politiques, Ceſpides.

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the Low Countries, one commanded by the count de Harcourt, and the other by the count de Guiche. Don Franciſco de Mello, a very prudent man, and a good officer, had aſſembled an army of twenty-five thouſand men, with which he recovered ſeveral places; and then, dividing it, pretended to make two inroads into France; but, ſuddenly uniting his troops again, fell upon the count de Guiche ſo unexpectedly, that, having routed him totally, he opened a clear paſſage to Paris; but, receiving poſitive orders from Olivares not to hazard his army in any undertaking of danger or difficulty, the opportunity was loſt [p]. The reaſon of this order was, that Olivares had concluded a new treaty with Gaſton duke of Orleans, and was in the ſecret of a deep contrivance againſt the cardinal's life. Thoſe who were embarked in it were the king's favourites, who carried their point ſo far, that the cardinal was diſgraced, and was forced in a manner to fly, though in a dying condition [q]. In this critical conjuncture came the news of Guiche's defeat, and the danger of Paris; which ſo alarmed the king, that he followed the cardinal, who in the mean time had diſcovered his brother's treaty of Spain. Upon this diſcovery, de Thou and Cinquemars were arreſted, the duke of Orleans was forbidden the king's preſence, and the cardinal taken into higher favour than ever [r]. Theſe advices, following that of the loſs of Perpignan, diſconcerted Olivares ſo much, that, embracing the king's knees, and falling at his feet, he beſought his leave to retire; then he begged ſome command where he might have an opportunity of loſing his life, and made many other incoherent ſpeeches, which denoted the utmoſt perturbation. Philip comforted him with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of continued favours. When he learned the reaſon of theſe tranſports, he joined him in deploring their common misfortune, and the lamentable diſaſter of being undone by their own arts; for if either the money ſpent in the ſecret treaty had been employed againſt the Catalans, or Don Franciſco de Mello had not been reſtrained, this campaign muſt have ended much more favourably [s].

At the king's return to Madrid it was diſcerned that his affection was not ſo ſtrong as formerly to Olivares. He was wearied with ill fortune, alarmed with what he had ſeen and heard in his progreſs, touched with the thinneſs of his court, from which almoſt all the grandees retired,

[p] Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares. [q] Le Vaſſor.
[r] P. Daniel, Anecdotes du Comte Duc d'Olivares, Le Vaſſor.
[s] Hiſtoire Generale d' Eſpagne.

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A D. 1643. and mortified by the silence of the people when he appeared in public. The queen, perceiving this alteration, declared her sentiments first, ascribing all the mischiefs that had happened to the refined and romantic politics of Olivares, to whom she likewise imputed some private discontents of her own. The ice being broke, the marquis de Grana presented the king with a letter from the emperor his master, who charged the conde duke with abasing the glory of the house of Austria by his ill conduct and intrigues. When the king began to stagger, the queen presented the infanta Donna Margaret of Savoy, whom she had sent for privately from the place where Olivares had banished her; the king's nurse, who had felt the minister's displeasure, was likewise brought to court, who, falling at Philip's feet as he passed from one apartment to another, with tears streaming from her eyes, in her plain and artless language, represented the miseries of his subjects in so pathetic a manner, that the king was very much moved. He took advantage, therefore, of a hunting-match, and, before his departure, sent a billet to the minister, by which he directed him to retire to Loches[t]. The conde duke obeyed, and was forced to disguise himself to avoid the insolence of the populace. He seemed to bear his disgrace steadily, and some have thought he might have surmounted it; for the king, being new in business, and having to do with ministers as new as himself, was quickly disgusted, and seemed to wish for his old minister again. But the conde duke, ever able and ever unfortunate, drew up an apology for himself full of wit and spirit and masterly reasoning, in which some maxims were acknowleged which should have been concealed, some things avowed that could not have been proved, and various persons treated in such a manner, that so loud and general a clamour was excited, as not only obliged the king to lay aside his former design, but induced him likewise to banish him to Toro[u]. The Catalans having received marshal de la Mothe, in the quality of viceroy of France, gained some advantages; the Portugueſe were successful by sea; and Don Francisco de Melo was defeated at Rocroi by the duke of Enguien, then but a boy, styled afterwards the great Conde, on the fifth day of Lewis the XIV's reign; so that, notwithstanding

Disgraced, by the queen, the emperor, the grandees, and people declaring at once.

[t] Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares, la Storia del Conte Duca d'Olivares, Histoire du Ministere du Compte Duc d'Olivares, avec des Reflexions politiques. [u] Cespides.

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the return of the grandees to court, and the offers received of men and money from various provinces, his catholic majesty still remained uneasy and perplexed, sensible of the great burden that lay upon his shoulders, and at a loss upon whom to depose it a load which he was every day more and more convinced was altogether insupportable.

Public affairs at home and abroad grow rather worse.

The disasters of the next year did not by any means contribute to reconcile the king to business. In Italy, where the house of Austria had been lately predominant, they were excluded from having so much as a share in the negociations for reconciling the duke of Parma to the pope, the treaty being concluded by the guaranty and under the mediation of France, and the military operations in Savoy went as untowardly as these negociations. In Germany the Imperialists were every where defeated, and lost several very considerable places. In the Low Countries the French became masters of Gravelin, and the Dutch of Sas van Ghent[w]. In Catalonia the Spanish army prospered, and, after succouring Tarragona and Lerida, were reduced. But, on the side of Portugal, the marquis of Torrecusa was routed at Badajoz by the duke of Albuquerque, with great loss; and the Spanish fleet was likewise defeated in sight of Carthagena by the marquis de Breze[x]. Yet what afflicted the Spaniards more than all these losses, was the death of the queen, on the 6th of October, in the flower of her age, and when she was become infinitely beloved by the people. She had gained entirely the confidence of the king her husband, who, after her decease, committed the management of public affairs to Don Lewis Haro de Guzman, nephew to the conde duke de Olivares, and yet no way attached to him, and who after his elevation, pursued quite different measures. He is generally allowed to have had less abilities, but withal was less assuming, of a pacific temper, whose affability, if it did not render him more respected, at least made him more beloved.

A.D. 1644.

The torrent of ill fortune continues to bear down all before it.

The war still continuing on all sides, served to increase the miseries of the nation, and the perplexity of the king and his ministers. On the side of the Milanese something might have been done against Savoy, where the French were embarrassed with a very troublesome treaty; but the marquis de Serra, who commanded for the Spaniards,

[w] Hist de Hollande, par Monf. de la Nenville. Batt. Nani.
[x] Stevens's Supplement to Sousa's History of Portugal. La Martiniere.

wanted

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wanted men, money, and allies; for the Italian princes, seeing the two crowns wasting their wealth and strength, without any prejudice to them, scarce assisted either party, or took any great pains in adjusting disputes. However, prince Thomas of Savoy, who had now declared for France, laboured hard in procuring a force that might be able to make a figure the next year; and it may be would have done this with more vivacity, if the French had not sent an officer of note to command under him. In Germany the house of Austria met with many disadvantages; in the Low
A.D.1645. Countries they had the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange at once to deal with; the former took Mardyke and some other places; the latter besieged Hulst, which was well defended; and, while he remained before it, the Spaniards recovered most of the places that had been taken by the French[y]. On the side of Portugal, the marquis de Leganez commanded the Spanish army, but did nothing of importance. In Catalonia, the count de Harcourt came to Barcelona, and was received as viceroy from the French king; the marquis du Plessis Praslin took Roses, and, being made marshal of France, was sent to assist prince Thomas of Savoy[z]. The Spanish army was commanded by Don Andreo Cantelmo, who was very inactive during the summer; for it seems the Spanish ministry depended upon a conspiracy formed in Barcelona, where an insurrection was to have been favoured by the appearance of their fleet, and to have been supported by the sudden march of the army. It was discovered just at the point of execution, which discovery cost the lives of some of the lay conspirators, and the perpetual imprisonment of the ecclesiastics that were concerned in it[a]. The count de Harcourt attacked Don Andreo on the banks of the Tegro, and, having defeated him, took Balaguer. The conde duke de Olivares, worn out by his infirmities, or rather devoured by his despair, died in the place of his banishment[b].

Civil dissensions in France give the Spaniards leave to breathe and hope.

When things were in so strange a situation we may excuse the Spanish ministers for recurring to the old practice of attempting to facilitate by intrigues what they were not able to accomplish by force. Pope Innocent X. was inclined to their interests; they had some partisans in Holland, and in France they touched every string. They la-

y Le Clerc. Hist. de Hollande, par Monsieur de la Neuville.
z Stevens's Supplement. Martiniere. a Batt. Nani. b Anecdotes du Compte Duc d'Olivares.

boured

boured to excite diviſions in the French councils; they propoſed a ſeparate peace to the United Provinces; nay, they went ſo far as to offer their mediation to the queen of France, profeſſing that his catholic majeſty would be content to make her the ſupreme judge between her brother and her ſon; but it was in vain; ſo that the war continued on every ſide. As cardinal Mazarine was deſirous of making a figure in Italy, prince Thomas of Savoy, and the marſhal du Pleſſis Praſlin, beſieged Orbitello, and, to aſſiſt in taking it, the French fleet ſailed under the command of the duke de Brezé. The place was in a bad condition, it could only be relieved from Naples; and a body of troops advanced from thence, but it was ſo ſmall a body that they could do nothing. In the mean time the Spaniſh fleet, commanded by admiral Pimentel, appeared; the French engaged and defeated them, but, towards the end of the action the duke of Brezé had his head carried away by a cannon-ball. His vice-admiral, for ſome political reaſons, returned as ſoon as poſſible to France [c]. Admiral Pimentel, taking advantage of his abſence, landed a body of troops, which, being joined to thoſe of Naples, forced prince Thomas to raiſe the ſiege; upon which he fell into diſgrace with the court of France; and another fleet of their's arriving on the coaſt of Elba, took ſeveral places. In the Low Countries the French and Dutch took ſeveral fortreſſes, though the Spaniſh army was commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain, Picolomini, and other great officers, who, for want of troops, were able to do little, except diſcovering their abilities, by obliging the enemy to pay dear for what they obtained. On the ſide of Portugal there happened nothing of conſequence; and yet the campaign did not paſs without bloodſhed on both parts [d]. In Catalonia things took another turn; the marquis de Leganez commanded for his catholic majeſty, with an army not numerous enough to act offenſively. The viceroy, monſieur de Harcourt, beſieged Lerida, which had no great garriſon, and was not in a very good condition. The governor had the addreſs to make the beſiegers believe that his ſtate was worſe than it really was; and, under perſuaſion that famine would oblige him to ſurrender, they did not preſs the ſiege ſo vigorouſly as they might have done. The marquis de Leganez, who knew exactly how things ſtood, cauſed a great convoy to be A.D. 1646

[c] Martiniere.

[d] Steven's Supplement to Souſas's Hiſtory of Portugal.

pro-

provided, and, when it was near ready, advanced towards Lerida, as if he meant to relieve the place. After lying some time within sight of the French army he decamped, as if he had abandoned his design, and having retired to the same distance from Lerida that the place was at on the other side, through which the convoy was to proceed, he marched directly back again, and appearing very unexpectedly on one side of the French camp, in order of battle, while the count de Harcourt prepared with some hurry to receive him, the convoy, with a strong reinforcement, entered safely on the other side; upon which the count was obliged to raise the siege, a circumstance which chagrined him so much that he quitted the command. This small piece of good fortune was far from consoling the court of Madrid for the loss of the prince Don Balthasar, who died on the 9th of October, to the great grief of the Spanish nation, who flattered themselves with a change of fortune under his reign [e].

Sign a peace with the states-general, and gain some advantages in Catalonia.

Affairs in Italy had a melancholy aspect at the beginning of the year, when the duke of Modena, with the title of generalissimo, having two good French officers under him, invested Cremona; but, misunderstandings arising amongst these chiefs, the enterprize failed, and the duke returned into his own dominions [f]. The unexpected and unexampled revolution at Naples, styled commonly the rebellion of Massaniello, threw all things once more into confusion; more especially after the duke of Guise had entered that city, and taught sedition to wear the appearance of a regular government [g]. Don Juan of Austria, declared general by sea, came and blocked up the place with a fleet; notwithstanding which the inhabitants remained in arms, and, if France had succoured the duke of Guise, Naples might have been gained for her, or at least would have been lost to Spain. In the Low Countries, the Dutch statesmen were prevailed upon, in the beginning of the year, to sign a provisional treaty with Spain, till that of peace could be entirely adjusted. The archduke Leopold William was declared governor of the Spanish Low Countries, with the same extensive powers that the archduke Albert and the cardinal infant had enjoyed. He brought with him a reinforcement of troops from the emperor, conducted the war with prudence and valour, and with some degree also of success [h]. The

[e] Hist. Chronologique du dernier Siecle.
[f] Batt. Nani.
[g] Gabriel Tontali il Massaniello. Martiniere.
[h] Le Clerc.

campaign

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campaign on the side of Portugal afforded no event worth mentioning, only a base design that some of the Spanish ministers entered into, for assassinating the king Don Juan, was discovered and punished [i]. In Catalonia the marquis of Aitona commanded for his catholic majesty, and the young prince of Conde, already famous for many victories, succeeded the count de Harcourt as viceroy of Catalonia. He resolved to distinguish his entrance on the administration, by reducing Lerida, in which attempt his predecessor had failed. He found the lines of the count de Harcourt so little injured, that they were repaired, and the place invested in two days; after which, in a fit of gaiety, he caused the trenches to be opened with a concert of violins. The old governor Don Antonio Brito, a Portuguese by birth, and well supplied with every thing, had a garrison of three thousand men. His conduct was the very reverse of what had been before; for he now harrassed the enemy with continual sallies, and disputed with obstinacy every inch of the ground. The French ascribed this conduct to his being sensible that they made their attack in the right place, and that he would be obliged to surrender as soon as they were masters of the outworks. In the midst of these expectations, the engineers found their trenches stopped by a rock: it was impossible to go on, it was too late to begin again, the army was diminished, the heats were coming on, the Spanish general advanced to its relief, and the prince of Conde was obliged to raise the siege [k]. The rest of the campaign was spent in marches and counter-marches; so that there happened nothing of importance, his catholic majesty having expressly commanded the marquis de Aitona not to risk any thing against the prince, of whose good fortune he is said to have been afraid. The French fleet, however, had some success at sea, the Spaniards having the best part of their naval force on the coasts of the kingdom of Naples [l]. A D. 1647.

After having wasted for so many years both troops and treasure, the two crowns found themselves almost equally exhausted in Italy. The marquis de Carracena, who commanded for the catholic king in the Milanese, had, however, the superiority this spring, and seemed disposed to make a right use of it, by attacking the French troops under the marquis de Navailles, who were but very unhappily

A conspiracy discovered, intended to bring about a marriage between the infanta and the prince of Brazil.

[i] Stevens's Supplement. [k] Martiniere Hist. Gen. d'Espagne. [l] Cespides.

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posted. As he executed this resolution slowly, the marshal du Plessis Praslin had time to join him, and the duke of Modena then arriving in their camp, they resolved to attack the marquis, though he was strongly intrenched under the cannon of Cremona, in which attack they were successful; but forming the siege of that city in the midst of summer, it held out to October, and their army being by that time ruined, they were forced to raise it [m]. In Naples, the duke of Guise was taken prisoner, and an end put to that rebellion by Don Juan of Austria [n]. In
A D. 1648. the Low Countries, the archduke had the satisfaction of seeing the peace signed between Spain and the United Provinces, on the 30th day of January, in spite of the opposition of the young prince of Orange, and against the will of the French [o], who, having withdrawn the prince of Conde from Catalonia, sent him to open the campaign on this side, in which, at the beginning, he had no great success, for the archduke took Courtray by a short siege, and Lens by assault; immediately after these exploits, the prince attacked and defeated the Spanish army, with the loss of eight thousand men, notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance, and the archduke's giving all possible testimonies of courage and conduct. In Spain the people were afflicted both with a plague and famine. There was but little done on the side of Portugal, and that not to the advantage of king Philip. Marshal Schomberg, who replaced the prince of Conde in Catalonia, attacked Tortosa, and took it by storm. It was very indifferently provided, and worse fortified; but it was very gallantly defended, the bishop and the best part of his clergy being killed in the breach. The Spanish army being reinforced soon after, hindered any greater progress being made. The king, being pressed by his subjects to a second marriage, resolved to espouse the archduchess Mary Anne, daughter to the emperor by the infanta Donna Maria, and consequently his own niece [p]. As the intrigues, supported by money from the ministers, maintained a Spanish party at Lisbon, so there wanted not a Portuguese faction amongst the nobility of Spain, who, in their own sentiments at least, acted intirely from public spirit. Of these the chief was the duke of Medina Sidonia, brother to the queen of Portugal, who had spoke so advantageously of his nephew Don

[m] Batt Nani. [n] Martiniere. [o] Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vi. p. i. p. 429. Le Clerc. [p] Stevens's Supplement.

Theodosius

Theodosius de Bragança, prince of Brazil, that some, who were very desirous of seeing Portugal once more united to the territories of Castile, had begun to figure to themselves that the thing was not at all impossible, if a marriage could be brought about between this amiable prince and the infanta Maria Teresa, now the presumptive heir of the Spanish monarchy. As this was a project that never could be rendered so much as communicable, much less acceptable, to Philip IV. they were driven into consultations and practices, criminal in appearance at least, if not in their nature, and as such are seldom long concealed, the king and his ministers obtained such informations, that the principal persons embarked in this design were seized. The duke de Medina Sidonia is said to have preserved his life by discovering all who were engaged with him. The duke de Hijar, of the house of Silva, and, by his mother's side, of the royal family of Arragon, was put to the question ordinary and extraordinary, which he bore with patience and with silence, but perished nevertheless by a long and severe imprisonment. The marquis de Ayamonte, Don Carlos de Padilla, and some other persons of distinction, paid with their heads for this irregular instance of their zeal for the tranquility and welfare of their country, and taught the king how much it imported him to have issue male, to prevent his dominions from falling into some other house; the fear of which event continued to embitter the remaining part of his life, even when the contingency seemed to be no longer probable [a].

The king marries the archduchess Mary Anne of Austria, daughter to the emperor.

The peace of Munster, which, after so many years of war, had restored quiet to the empire, served only to augment the chagrin of the court of Madrid, where the terms on which France would have concluded peace, were rejected, and all the share that Spain took, after so long a negotiation in that transaction, was insisting upon her protest. The principal motive to this conduct was that confusion to which France has been ever liable under a minority, and where, at this time, the malecontents were able to cover their designs with the specious pretence that the queen regent was a Spaniard, and the cardinal minister an Italian. But these strangers had the interest of France so much at heart, that the Spaniards chose rather to treat with the parliament of Paris, by which they exceedingly embarrassed the court, where, notwithstand-

[a] Memoires de Madame de Motteville, tom. ii. p. 339, & suiv.

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ing all their victories, they found it extremely difficult to form and maintain an army; and, when this was done, they were again embarrassed to find a general. The archduke Leopold William gave out that it was in his power to make considerable conquests in France; and, to render this assertion probable, he ravaged it; which, in truth, was all that he had in his power. However, he recovered Ipres and St. Venant by the 10th of May; but at last the French army appeared under the count de Harcourt, who invested Cambray, and having intercepted a letter from the archduke to the governor, promising him relief by a day fixed, he caused it to be published, as the shortest way to prevent it. Nevertheless, the archduke presented himself before the place, performed what he had promised, and forced the French to raise the siege; after which they took Conde, but were forced to abandon it again almost as soon as it was taken[r]. In Italy, the Spaniards compelled the duke of Modena to change sides; for France could do nothing in Catalonia. Don Juan de Guaras, who commanded the troops of his catholic majesty, took several places in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, and would probably also have become master of that capital, if marshal de Marsin had not brought into it a French garrison, which prevented any commotion, and thereby saved the place, till France should be in a condition to do more. On the 3d of September, prince Edward of Portugal, brother to the king, ended his days miserably in the castle of Milan, where he was kept prisoner by the Spaniards, for no other crime than that of his birth, unless we should add his having qualities equal, and a spirit even superior, to it. In the month of October arrived the new queen of Spain, to whom the king had been married by proxy[s].

A.D. 1649.

Affairs take a very unexpected turn in Catalonia in favour of the Spaniards.

The dissensions that raged in France afforded king Philip and his ministers all the advantages they could desire in all the countries where the war was carried on. In Italy, Don Juan of Austria took Piombino by assault, and afterwards besieged Porto Longone, into which, in spite of all the opposition given him by the Spanish fleet, the chevalier de St. Paul threw supplies; which, however, did not hinder the place from being reduced[t]. The reception of prince Maurice and prince Rupert in Portugal induced king Philip not only to acknowlege, but to make court to, the new government in England, in order to engage them

A.D. 1650.

[r] Batt. Nani. [s] Stevens's Supplement. Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle. [t] Batt. Nani.

to

to send an English fleet against the Portuguese; they complied with his request; and, in process of time, Philip was severely chastised by that very power which he now flattered. In Catalonia, affairs took a strange turn; the French general Marsin was but weak, and therefore could not hinder the retaking of some places of no importance; but being a creature of the prince of Conde's, he no sooner heard of his imprisonment than he began to promote what was not in his power to prevent. The Catalans, finding themselves pushed by their old masters, and betrayed by their new ones, entered into a variety of intrigues, as their interests, their inclinations, or their necessities, directed. By these means the Spaniards recovered Flix upon the Segro, Tortosa, and some other places, and very probably would have recovered the whole province, if, in this critical conjuncture, the kingdom of Valentia had not revolted, a circumstance which obliged the Spanish ministers to turn their eyes on that side, where, not without difficulty, things were appeased [u]. The duke de Mercœur, arriving at Barcelona with the title of viceroy, secured that city, after having caused Marsin to be arrested, and sent prisoner to Perpignan; nevertheless the Spaniards, being masters of the whole plain of Urgel, most of the Catalan chiefs, who had been faithful to the French, thought it prudent to retire into Roussillon; by which retreat their party was exceedingly discouraged [w].

The viscount de Turenne enters into their service, and is beat by marshal du Plessis Praslin.

On the side of Flanders, the archduke Leopold William saw, with some surprize, an entire change in the affairs of France, his old friends closing with the court, and the duke of Orleans concurring in the measure of arresting the princes of Conde and Conti, and the duke of Longueville. This change did not at all trouble him, since the new malecontents threw themselves immediately into the arms of Spain. In consequence of a new treaty, concluded with madame de Longueville, the famous viscount de Turenne joined the archduke as soon as he took the field, and, after reducing Aubenton and Irson, took Capelet on the 15th of June; notwithstanding which success, the archduke was obliged by the marshal de Plessis Praslin to raise the siege of Guise, on the 1st of July. His army, however, being reinforced, took Capelle on the 3d of August; then the viscount de Turenne sent a strong detachment to deliver the princes out of the castle of Vincennes, a design frustrated by transferring them to Marcoussi.

[u] Batt. Nani. [w] Martiniere

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The archduke, however, made himself master of Moncon, after a vigorous defence; and, under colour of having full powers from Spain, set on foot a new treaty, as dangerous to the court as his victories. At length the marshal du Plessis Praslin having retaken Rethel, the archduke and the viscount Turenne gave him battle on the 15th of December, and were defeated with great loss [x].

A.D. 1651. As the confusions in France were at the greatest height, their finances exhausted, the persons of the king and his mother scarce in safety, and their minister on the point of seeking shelter in Germany, we cannot have a more convincing proof of the weakness of Spain than arises from the small advantages she was able to make from circumstances so much in her favour. We cannot charge this with justice either on the ministers or the generals she employed; for they were certainly able men, and indefatigable in their endeavours; but the length of the war, the great distance of the different scenes of action, and, above all, the prodigious sums that were given from time to time to the French malecontents, were such as could not be supplied without impoverishing the people, who were at the same time consumed by pestilence and famine. On the whole, therefore, king Philip and his ministers knew not how to act, even in places where they were sure of meeting with little or no resistance. In Italy, to save expences, and to prevent jealousies, they withdrew their forces out of Piedmont, and contented themselves with securing the Milanese. On the side of Portugal they were able to do nothing; on the contrary, their forces were so weak, that they might have suffered extremely, if they had not had two things in their favour; first, their frontiers were so ruined that the enemy had nothing either to tempt or to subsist them; and next, the Portuguese were in a worse state than themselves. In Catalonia, they exerted themselves under the command of the marquis de Mortara, and with success in the spring; in the autumn, the count de Marsin, who was again at the head of the French troops, marched away with the whole army to join the prince of Conde in Guienne, leaving the Catalans to defend themselves as well as they could [y]. Upon this retreat, Don Juan of Austria, recalled from Italy, on purpose to command on that side, formed the siege of Barcelona. In the Low Countries, through which cardinal

New discontents in France, upon which the prince of Conde joins with Spain.

[x] Le Clerc. [y] Histoire Generale d'Hispan. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. Batt. Nani.

Mazarine

Mazarine passed in his way to Cologne, the archduke, with the assistance of his great minister the count de Fuensaldagna, proposed some great exploits; which, however, in spite of all their efforts, produced only the conquest of Furnes, St. Winoc, and some other little places, which opened a passage to the reduction of Dunkirk, the siege of which the advance of the season would not permit them to undertake. To all their other cares the Spanish ministry had now added a new scene of war in the very heart of France, in consequence of a treaty made between his Catholic majesty and the prince of Conde, to whose assistance a squadron of seventeen large vessels, filled with troops, stores, and money, was sent from St. Sebastian to Bourdeaux. King Philip, however, had the consolation of seeing his young queen brought to bed, on the 12th of July, of the infanta Donna Maria Margaretta, who became afterwards the consort of the emperor Leopold, and the grandmother of the reigning empress queen [z].

Vast advantages that accrued to that nation from those intrigues and discontents.

It is generally allowed, that Don Lewis de Haro was much inferior, as a politician, to his uncle the conde duke; but it is certain that he managed his intrigues with greater success, and drew much higher advantages from the troubles he fomented in France. In Italy, some impression was made by the marquis de Carracena upon Piedmont; and Casal, which Olivares could never get into his hands, was surrendered, the town through treachery, the citadel from famine, to the Spaniards, who restored it immediately to the duke of Mantua, upon his promise to preserve it by a garrison of his own troops only [a]. On the side of Bourdeaux, the prince of Conde received all the succours that were in their power to give, and when he traversed the kingdom, to throw himself into Paris, they furnished the expence, and received him with open arms, when resentment, and the want of any other resource, compelled him to seek shelter in their armies. They had, to say the truth, great reason; for Gravelines had surrendered to the archduke, after sixty-nine days siege; other places of less consequence were taken with less trouble; but even in the midst of their confusion, the French did all that was in their power to save Dunkirk, in which there was a good garrison, commanded by the count d'Estrades [b]. The duke de Vendosme was sent with a good fleet to relieve it; but the English met with them in their pas-

A.D. 1652.

[z] Histoire Chronologique du dernier Siecle. [a] Martiniere.
[b] Batt. Nani.

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sage, and, except three ships that escaped to Flushing, took them all, under colour of reprisals. This was the only service king Philip received from the parliament, in return for the extraordinary step he had taken in their favour, or, which is more probable, because it was believed to be rather the interest of England to have Dunkirk in the hands of Spain than of France. However that might be, the place was surrendered on the 16th of September, after a siege of thirty-nine days [c]. The prince of Conde, having joined the Spanish army, took, though it was late in the season, Rethel and St. Menehoude; but the design he had of giving their forces winter-quarters in France was prevented by Turenne. The campaign, however, was very fortunate, and the recovery of so many and so important places did no small honour to the archduke [d].

Barcelona surrendered to Don Juan of Austria, and the greatest part of Catalonia recovered.

The Spaniards did little this year against the Portuguese; and the king of Portugal, according to his old maxim, persisted in putting his kingdom into a good state of defence, in every respect, rather than run any unnecessary hazards for the present [e]. In Catalonia, Don Juan of Austria besieged Barcelona with a small army, and kept it blocked up by a squadron of gallies at sea. The French marshal la Mothe penetrated through his quarters with a reinforcement of between six and seven hundred men, which raised the spirits of the besieged for the present, but increased the scarcity of provisions. The French fleet attempted its relief without success; and at length, after a siege of fifteen months, Barcelona surrendered on the 11th of October, the French garrison having good terms given them, and the inhabitants, who really compelled the surrender, had a general pardon, and their privileges secured. The whole country, except Roses, followed the fate of the capital [f]. His Catholic majesty held an assembly of the military orders, and afterwards of the states of the kingdom, at Madrid, in which some necessary resolutions were taken, and some good laws were made [g]. His ministers also took care to circulate in France their manifestoes, in his Catholic majesty's name, setting forth his earnest desire of peace, his abhorrence of contributing in any manner to the disturbance of his neighbours, and the purity of his intention of supporting the princes of France against the open violences and secret artifices of an Italian politician, who, to maintain his own greatness, and to promote

[c] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. [d] Martiniere. [e] Stevens's Suppl. [f] Batt. Nani. [g] Histoire Generale d'Hispan.

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his private views, trampled upon the laws of France, and kept her involved in war with her neighbours.

The marquis de Carracena had some advantages in the beginning of the year, which, however, did not hinder him from consenting to a short cessation of arms; a circumstance that was highly advantageous to the French, who sent the marquis du Plessis Belliere, with a small corps of troops to secure Piedmont, and to harrass the Spaniards. The marquis de Carracena, with superior forces, brought him to a battle on the banks of the Roquette, where both sides claimed the victory; but the marquis being wounded, and able to make no progress during the rest of the year, we may venture to affirm his claim was not extremely well founded [h]. In Guienne, the prince of Conde's faction began to crumble to nothing; and though the Spaniards had a garrison in Bourg, the French sent a squadron to Bourdeaux, by which the place was blocked up at sea. The marshal Marsin, who commanded for the prince in those parts, was able to do nothing of consequence; and at length the duke of Vendosme appearing with a superior naval force, the Spaniards were constrained to retire. Bourg, in which they had a garrison, was taken, and the people of Bourdeaux made their peace upon the best terms they could obtain [i]. In the Low Countries, this campaign was by no means so favourable as that of the preceding year. The prince of Conde did indeed make himself master of Rocroy, and some other places; but Monsieur de Turenne prevented him from doing any thing of consequence; and the count de Fuensaldagna having hindered him from fighting, because he thought the risque too great, a difference arose between them that could never be composed; more especially after the archduke Leopold arrived in the army, where, by the express directions of the court of Madrid, he was constrained to treat the prince as his equal, and be content at last to act upon the defensive, the young king Lewis XIV. coming in person to encourage his troops, and bringing with him such supplies as rendered them superior in every respect [k].

A.D. 1653.

The Spaniards lose the advantage of making a diversion from Bourdeaux.

There passed little of consequence between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and, in the few skirmishes that did happen, the advantage was, generally speaking, on the side of the latter. In Catalonia, the Spaniards, having for some time blocked up Roses, proposed to besiege it;

Don Juan raises the siege of Gironne, and marshal Hocquincourt relieves Roses.

[h] Quincy Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [i] Martiniere. [k] Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne, Marechal General des Armées du Roy, par M. de Ramsay.

it; but their army being very weak, the French, who were also far from being numerous, compelled them to retire. This success engaged the marshal de Hoquincourt to penetrate through Rousillon into Catalonia, where he laid siege to Gironne on the 27th of July. He remained before it two months, when the place, being reduced to the last extremity, was relieved by Don Juan of Austria, who forced one of the quarters of the French camp, and compelled the marshal to retire into Rousillon with great precipitation; but notwithstanding this advantage Don Juan was forced to abandon the siege of Roses, partly through the rigour of the season, and partly through the eagerness of the French marshal to recover his reputation, and to keep such of the Catalans as were still inclined to France from falling into absolute despair[l].

A. D. 1654. The court of Madrid, at the request of the prince of Conde, had released from his imprisonment the duke of Guise, who gave them so much trouble at Naples, and he made them very magnificent promises in return[m]. He went into France, and, during these troublesome times, behaved so much to the satisfaction of the court, that he was promised the command of a fleet for the execution of a certain secret expedition of his own contriving. Charles duke of Lorrain had a strong affection for the house of Austria, which induced the French to deprive him of his dominions. He retained, however, a considerable corps of troops, with whom he served the crown of Spain, but in so capricious a manner, and with such an apparent jealousy of the prince of Conde, that his catholic majesty's orders were transmitted to the Low Countries to put him under arrest. He was enterprising, and yet suspicious and cautious; however, ways and means were found to deceive him, and to separate his troops; then he was arrested, and sent prisoner to Brussels, transferred from thence to Dunkirk, afterwards conveyed to Spain, and confined in the castle of Toledo, till, upon the treaty of the Pyrenees, he was set at liberty[n]. The archduke, who would take no share in this business, was obliged to lend his name to a manifesto published in vindication of it. Prince Francis of Lorrain took the command of his brother's troops, and continued in his catholic majesty's service. The archduke accompanied, or rather directed by the prince of Conde, very early this year, and unexpectedly,

Charles, duke of Lorrain, arrested in the Low Countries, and sent prisoner into Spain.

[l] Batt Nani. [m] Cespides. [n] Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. ii. par. ii. p. 264.

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expectedly, besieged Arras, while the French attacked Stenai. However, Monsr. Turenne forced the Spanish camp before Arras, and obliged the archduke and the prince to raise the siege on the 25th of August; notwithstanding which check, the Spaniards reduced several places this year, and still kept up a very troublesome party in France [o]. All the respect, however, that could be paid to the prince of Conde was far from giving him content; he complained that the Spanish troops were not complete; that the sums assigned for their pay were too little, and those not punctually issued; that they had not the necessary trains of artillery; that ammunition was frequently wanted, and most of their fortresses were poorly garrisoned, and out of repair. They answered with fair promises; but as these were not kept, the prince began to grow weary of his situation, more especially when he found that Cromwell was negociating with France, from whence he foresaw that the Spaniards would feel many inconveniences, and be gradually less able to support him and his designs; a consideration which induced him to think of making his peace at home; of which design the Spaniards having some intimation, it augmented their jealousy, and contributed not a little to embarrass and perplex their affairs [p].

Affairs in Spain in a very declining condition.

The Portuguese this year took and plundered the town of Oliva, and broke the agreement that had subsisted for some time with the Spanish generals, of not disturbing the country people on either side; an infraction which induced, or rather compelled the latter to make incursions likewise, notwithstanding which there happened little of moment. Don Juan of Austria was not able to do any great matter on the side of Rousillon, where the prince of Conti commanded. But the attempt made by the duke of Guise with a fleet to reduce Naples, proved altogether ineffectual, and exposed both him and cardinal Mazarine to ridicule [q]. His catholic majesty caused his daughter the infanta to be acknowleged the heiress of all his dominions, and finished the fine chapel at the Escurial at a vast expence, notwithstanding the affairs of his government suffered every where for want of money, most of his revenues being anticipated, and his subjects every where in a manner exhausted; so that peace became every day more necessary, and at the same time seemed to be farther off

[o] Martiniere. [p] Cespides. [q] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal.

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than ever[r]. Endeavours were used to set on foot a negociation, by the pope's mediation, which was very coldly received in France.

A.D. 1655. In Italy, as there was little done the last year, the marquis de Carracena had taken the necessary precautions to be in a condition to act with greater vigour at the entrance of this. He had intelligence of the duke of Modena's having entered into a treaty with France, and of his concluding a marriage for his eldest son with the niece of cardinal Mazarine; upon which he demanded one of the best places in his dominions by way of security for his conduct, and advanced with all the forces he could draw together towards Reggio, where the duke then was; but the duke quickly found him other employment, by putting himself at the head of his forces, and marching directly towards Pavia, before which place arrived at the same time prince Thomas of Savoy, with the French troops, and the marquis de Villa with those of Piedmont. The place was invested on the 1st of August; but the governor, count Trotti, having a good garrison, made so gallant a defence, that he gave the marquis de Carracena time to expect reinforcements from Naples and from Germany, and with their help he obliged the allies to raise the siege. The duke of Modena, however, retired to Casal, and so low was the credit of the Spaniards fallen in Italy, that, notwithstanding this advantage, the duke of Mantua declared for the French, and actually went to Paris to settle the terms upon which he was to enjoy the protection of that court[s]. In the Low Countries the archduke and the prince of Conde flattered themselves with great hopes; but when they came to take the field, they found themselves much disappointed; for Monsr. Turenne besieged and took Landrecy, and afterwards Quenoi. The French king was himself in the field; and the superiority of his arms so great, that, notwithstanding all the opposition the archduke and the prince could give, without running the hazard of a battle, Conde and St. Guelan were added to his conquests[t]. In the winter the archduke received still greater mortifications. The court of Spain had concluded a new treaty with their prisoner the duke of Lorrain at Toledo, which was transmitted to the archduke, and both he and the prince of Conde flattered themselves, that a new oath of fidelity being exacted from these troops, they

Many reasons conspire to make the archduke desirous of quitting the Low Countries.

[r] Batt. Nani, Martiniere. [s] Martiniere, Cespides. [t] Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. de Ramsay.

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might be safely employed in an enterprise which they had concerted. Duke Francis, however, having sent his second son, who was a child, to Breda, escaped with the eldest into the territories of France, and all the Lorrain troops, that had not deserted before, followed him thither, where they took an oath of fidelity to the French king, till their sovereign should be set at liberty [u]. At this very time it was known that the protector Cromwell, in spite of all that could be offered by ministers both from Madrid and Brussels, had concluded a treaty with France; with which unacceptable news the archduke acquainted the people of the Low Countries by a manifesto, and at the same time issued commissions to privateers [w]. These mortifications, added to those which he daily received from the count de Fuensaldagna, who had in reality the confidence of the Spanish court, engaged the archduke to press his catholic majesty so warmly for his leave to quit the Low Countries, where he was able to do so little for his majesty's service, and still less for his own reputation, that at length he obtained it, and an assurance that a successor should be sent him in the spring [x]; a measure by no means acceptable to the nobility or people in the Spanish provinces, where the archduke was generally and deservedly beloved.

His catholic majesty resolves to make some changes in the persons who hold commands.

The war with Portugal furnished this year no incident of importance, except we may account so the proceedings of the Portuguese governor of Salvaterra, whom the Spaniards would have corrupted by the agency of Don Alonso de Sande, a Castilian officer, with whom he lived in great friendship. The Portuguese carried on the negotiation till he had obtained a letter under the hand of Don Lewis de Haro, consenting to admit the person with whom he treated, and thirty men, at a postern: this condition he performed, and caused every man's brains to be beat out as soon as he was within. As for the unfortunate Don Alonso, he tied him to the mouth of a cannon filled with gunpowder, and shattered him all to pieces; an action so barbarous, that it tarnished the reputation he would otherwise have acquired from his fidelity [y]. Don Juan of Austria was early in the field on the side of Roussillon, where he took some small places, and would have made greater

[u] Batt Nani. [w] Corps Univ. Diplomatique, tom. vi. par. ii p. 121. Martiniere, Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Batt Nani. [x] Cespides. [y] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's Hist. of Portugal.

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grogreſs, if the prince of Conti had not been the cardinal's nephew, who took care to furniſh him with a numerous army, and ſent likewiſe the duke of Vendoſme upon the coaſt with a ſtrong fleet. With his aſſiſtance he took Quiers and Caſtillon, after a ſiege of twenty days. He then prepared to penetrate into Catalonia; but Don Juan, though much inferior in ſtrength, had ſo well ſecured the paſſes, that he found it impracticable; however, the town of Solſona revolted, and received a French garriſon. The ſiege of Palamos was next reſolved on; but Don Juan threw in ſuch a reinforcement, as would have made the reduction a work of time; and this circumſtance put the prince of Conti ſo much out of humour, that he quitted the command to the count de Merenville [z]. Don Juan, deſirous of puniſhing Solſona for its revolt, beſieged it ſoon after the prince's departure; but the count de Merenville ſurpriſed one of his quarters, and relieved the place. Don Juan, however, took Berga, and, after a long campaign, forced the French to retire into Languedoc, where they took up their winter-quarters. After their departure he reduced Solſona, and gave its inhabitants cauſe to remember their having been ſo ready to receive a French garriſon [a]. There happened alſo this year a naval engagement, of which neither ſide had much reaſon to boaſt. Some French hiſtorians claim the victory; but, from what happened through the whole campaign, it is eaſy to ſee that their title was none of the beſt. His catholic majeſty reſolved to make ſome changes in his governors and general officers the next year; his ſon Don Juan of Auſtria he appointed governor of the Low Countries, with a plenitude of power never granted to any of his predeceſſors [b]. He made choice of the marquis de Carracena to ſerve under him, in hopes he might prove more ſucceſsful there than hitherto he had been in Italy. The count de Fuenſaldagna, with whom the miniſtry were well ſatisfied, had the government of the Milaneſe, for Don Juan did not like a ſervant who had held his former maſter in leading-ſtrings.

Mortification of count Fuenſaldagna at the loſs of Valenza in the Milaneſe.

The count de Fuenſaldagna found the affairs of the Milaneſe in no very promiſing ſituation. The army was weak, the revenue anticipated, the inhabitants of the capital extremely diſpleaſed with the accidental burning of the ducal palace, and all the papers of ſtate contained therein. He ſet himſelf to repair every thing, and he

[z] Batt Nani. [a] Le Clerc, Baſnage, Neuville. [b] Ceſpides.

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made a great progress in what he undertook; for though without doubt he was very assuming, yet he was a great man in the cabinet and in the field, and very few ministers were so assiduous [c]. The duke of Modena had made a tour to Paris, in order to be present at his son's marriage; and, as this procured him some advantages, it turned likewise to the account of Spain; for the duke of Mantua, jealous of the honours paid him, gradually reconciled himself to his old friends [d]. Prince Thomas of Savoy being dead on the verge of fourscore, the duke of Mercœur, at the request of the duke of Modena, was appointed to command in Italy, and, with a flourishing army, besieged Valenza, a strong place in the Milanese. It was defended by Don Augustino de Signado with equal capacity and courage. The count de Fuensaldagna did all in his power to relieve it, and was once very near carrying his point; but at length the place was reduced to such extremity, that the governor demanded to capitulate. The two dukes answered, that, according to the rules of war, he had no terms to expect; but that, out of pure regard to his courage and conduct, they were ready to grant him what terms he pleased; and thus, to the great regret of the Spaniards, Valenza was lost, after seventy-three days open trenches. This was looked upon as one of the best conducted enterprizes during the whole war; and though no blame could with any foundation be laid upon the count de Fuensaldagna, it proved notwithstanding a great mortification to him, more especially as it happened at his entrance on the government, and as he very well knew they had formed at Madrid great expectations of seeing their affairs in Italy restored by a person of his known courage and capacity [e]. A.D. 1656.

Success of Don Juan of Austria and the prince of Conde in the Low Countries.

The situation of affairs in the Low Countries requiring the presence of Don Juan, he resolved to pass by sea into Italy, and from thence by land into the Netherlands. We cannot desire a clearer proof of the great change in the circumstances of Spain, than this short voyage will afford us. Instead of the numerous squadrons of the Doria's or Mendoza's, which attended every motion of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, Don Juan put to sea with only four gallies. These were soon attacked by privateers of such force, that three of them were quickly taken, and the fourth, with the prince on board, would have met

[c] Batt. Nani. [d] Cespides. [e] Martiniere, Quincy.

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with the same fate, if Don Juan had not promised the slaves their liberty, and one hundred ducats apiece, if they landed him safe. Thus encouraged, they exerted themselves in such a manner, that with great difficulty they merited their reward [f]. The prince no sooner landed, than he continued his route to Milan, where, notwithstanding the highest honours were paid him, he staid but a few days, and spent the best part of his time in conferring with the count de Fuensaldagna, whose informations he received very thankfully, and heard his advice with much attention. As soon as he arrived in the Low Countries, the archduke Leopold William went to wait upon him, and, having met him at some miles distance, in a most triumphant manner carried him to Brussels, where he was received with universal applause; soon after, the archduke set out for Cologne, and Don Juan accompanied him as far as the archduke had gone to meet him at his arrival. These ceremonies were not without a meaning, for it was known that the prince of Conde pretended to the precedency; but the archduke, who was both the son and the brother of an emperor, having given Don Juan the right hand, the prince made no difficulty of following his example. However, these forms took up so much time, that the French were in the field before them; and the viscount Turenne, having left the cardinal with the court at la Fere, though his army was not very numerous, had invested Valenciennes, a large and well-fortified place, in the midst of the Spanish fortresses. It was defended by Don Francisco de Meneses, who had the precaution to lay the adjacent meadows under water; so that the French were constrained to lay a bridge, or rather to construct a dike, over them, to unite their quarters, the viscount de Turenne commanding on one side, and marshal de la Ferte on the other. About the beginning of July Don Juan, the prince of Conde, and the marquis de Carracena, advanced to its relief, and encamped at a small distance from the quarter of the Lorrainers, which it was expected they would have attacked; but, having caused bridges to be thrown over the Scheld, they passed it in the night between the 15th and 16th, and attacked the quarter of the marshal la Ferte so briskly, that in a quarter of an hour the line was forced, and the marshal taken prisoner [g]. At

[f] Parival, Siecle de Fer, tom. i. p. 135.

[g] De Reincourt, Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 274—276. Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. de Ramsay, Quincy.

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the very inſtant of this attack, the governor opened the ſluices, which carried a barge laden with ſtones with ſuch rapidity againſt the French dike, that it forced a paſſage; ſo that monſieur Turenne, finding it impoſſible to ſuccour his colleague, retired with his baggage and part of his artillery under the cannon of Quenoi. The princes would have purſued him, and in all probability would have rendered their victory complete, if unluckily the gate of Valenciennes on that ſide had not been walled up, and, before it could be opened, the viſcount was out of their reach [h]. As it was, a marſhal of France taken, with four thouſand foot, as many killed, and all the artillery and baggage falling likewiſe into their hands, gave a new luſtre to the Spaniſh arms. This was not a little augmented by the taking of Conde, after a ſiege of twenty-five days, in which there was a garriſon of four thouſand men, who were indeed ſuffered to march out, but upon the hard condition of not ſerving againſt Spain for four years. Theſe ſucceſſes were ſomewhat qualified by their being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of St. Guilian, in hopes of preventing monſieur Turenne from recovering la Capelle, in which they likewiſe failed [i]. However, the events of this campaign were apparently in their favour, and this circumſtance revived the ſpirits of the Flemings, and in ſome meaſure abated the chagrin of the prince of Conde.

If the former campaigns had been at all more vigorous, we might have imputed the little progreſs made in this on the ſide of Portugal to the declining health of the king Don Juan, who died in November; but in truth they were all the effects of his wiſe policy, who, having a broken ſtate to repair, and wars in different parts of the world to maintain, thought it beſt to ſave expences on that ſide where the weakneſs of his enemy was as great as his own. In Catalonia the marquis de Montana, who commanded after the departure of Don Juan, had but a very ſmall army, with which he took ſeveral little places; and the duke de Candale, grandſon to the great duke of Epernon, who commanded the French, neither attempted any thing himſelf, nor gave the Spaniſh general much diſturbance. Pope Urban the Seventh having ſolicited the French biſhops to interpoſe with their king, in order to facilitate a peace, Lewis afforded them but a rough, not to ſay a rude an-

The propoſitions of peace made by M. de Lionne are rejected by the court of Spain.

[h] Aitzema, Zaaken van ſtaat en oorl, iii. deel, fol. 1314.
[i] Quincy, Hiſtoire du Vicomte du Turenne, Martiniere.

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swer. Upon reflection, however, cardinal Mazarine thought it expedient to let the world see that France did not intend, or at least would not avow the intention, of making a war without end; therefore, at the beginning of the campaign, Mr. de Lionne was dispatched to Madrid with full powers, comprised in about six lines, to conclude a peace; and, to prevent any doubt about the king's signature, he was accompanied by a gentleman, who had been in the service of the count de Fuensaldagna, in whose presence the French king delivered those powers, and told him what they were [k]. This minister plenipotentiary had several conferences with Don Lewis de Haro, but they ended in nothing. An account of this negotiation was published, as is generally supposed, by Lionne, in order to justify his court; and in this it is affirmed, that the point upon which they differed was the restitution of his places and governments to the prince of Conde, to which it is said his catholic majesty inclined to add the sovereignty of some places on the frontiers, in consideration of the services which, as the Spanish ministers phrased it, he had been compelled to render their master: whereas Lewis, though he was content the prince should return, would by no means allow that he should return in triumph. It has been however thought, and indeed it is more probable, that the true reason why this negociation ended so abruptly was, the proposition, or at least the intimation, of a marriage between the young king and the infanta, to which Philip was exceedingly averse, as foreseeing the consequences, and being desirous to marry her to a prince of his own family [l]. The Spaniards were made thoroughly sensible this year of the consequences of a war with England; for, besides the news of the attempt upon St. Domingo, and the conquest of Jamaica in the West Indies, they had the misfortune of seeing the admirals Blake and Montague sink three and take two rich galleons upon their own coast, in which prizes they found three millions of pieces of eight, besides which the Spaniards lost a greater sum in those that were sunk. A misfortune so much the more intolerable, as they knew not what provocation had brought this war upon them, and consequently knew as little how to extricate themselves from it, or to revenge the mischiefs they sustained.

[k] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal. Histoire de la Paix des Pyrenees, Cologne, 1667, p. 15. Quincy, tom. i. p. 217. [l] Memoires de Lionne, Cespides.

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The duke of Mantua, though he had contributed exceedingly the year before to the taking of Valenza, was prevailed upon by his wife to go to Milan, where he was quickly reconciled to the interest of Spain; and, having discovered this change by acting openly, the duke of Modena, and the prince of Conti began to commit hostilities in his dominions. As they had visibly a superiority, they proceeded to invest Alexandria della Paglia, a strong place, and well defended. The count de Fuensaldagna assembled all his forces, and marched with them to the relief of the place; in order to which he attacked the enemy in their lines, but without effect. However, having taken a strong entrenched camp very near them, and the governor continuing to make frequent sallies, they were obliged at last to raise the siege on the 18th of August, after having lain before the place thirty-three days[m]. The count, however, was not strong enough to prevent the allies from taking quarters in the dominions of the duke of Mantua. On the side of Flanders, through the industry and activity of the prince of Conde, the army was very early in the field, so that St. Guilain was invested, and reduced by the 22d of March. Marshal Turenne, to repair this affront, having deceived the Spanish generals, began to invest Cambray, in which there were not above three hundred men; and would certainly have taken it in a few days, if the prince of Conde had not marched thither with incredible diligence, at the head of four thousand five hundred horse and dragoons, and, under the cover of a thick fog, penetrating the French line, got into the place; upon which monsieur Turenne drew off his troops to cover the siege of Montmedi by marshal la Ferté, which was taken on the 6th of August. In the mean time Don Juan of Austria and the prince of Conde attempted to surprise Calais, and actually gained possession of the lower town; but the upper was so well defended, that they were forced to retire. Turenne afterwards took St. Venant, and came time enough to oblige the Spaniards, who had laid siege to Ardres, to raise it; but they were so lucky as to surprise his rear-guard, and, with it, the military chest. This check did not hinder him from besieging and taking Mardyke, which surrendered on the 3d of October. The garrison, being made

Affairs go very indifferently for the Spaniards in Italy and the Low Countries.

A.D. 1657.

[m] Histoire du Prince de Conde, Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. Quincy, Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. de Ramsay.

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prisoners of war, were sent over to England, and the place delivered to general Morgan, who commanded the auxiliaries sent by the protector, which had served in the French army all this compaign[n]. The emperor Ferdinand dying in the spring, the archduke Leopold, formerly governor of the Low Countries, might have succeeded him, if he had not declined it in favour of his nephew of the same name, who, notwithstanding, through the opposition excited by the French, was not elected till the following year[o].

Events in Portugal, Catalonia, and at sea, where the English burn the galleons in harbour.

As the Portuguese suspected their enemies might be encouraged by the death of their king, and the minority of the prince his son, they determined to begin the campaign early, and with vigour; but, miscarrying in their attempt to surprise a Spanish fort, they drew upon themselves the mischief they sought to avoid; for the duke de St. Germain, an Italian nobleman of great merit, who commanded the Spanish army, being sent for to Madrid, received instructions to exert himself to the utmost, and was at the same time promised great supplies and considerable reinforcements, which were accordingly sent him. Towards the close of April he took the field, and soon after invested Olivenza, the strongest place in Portugal, except Elvas. The count de St. Lorenzo, with the army of Portugal, made several attempts to relieve it, but without success; so that after a long defence it surrendered on the 30th of May. The inhabitants, to shew their antipathy to the Spaniards, though permitted by the capitulation to stay, quitted the place to a man. The duke next invested the town and castle of Moron, which he likewise took; so that this was the most active and successful campaign since the beginning of the war[p]. The marquis de St. Abreo, who commanded in Catalonia in the absence of the duke of Candale, forced the Spanish troops, who were employed in the blockade of Urgel, to retire; and, as their forces were very weak, and such great efforts were made on the side of Portugal, there was nothing more done: but the most fatal event of the whole year was the burning the Spanish galleons by the English fleet under the command of admiral Blake, in the island of Teneriff, by which many millions were lost, as well as a great number of good ships, which the Spaniards could very ill spare[q].

[n] Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Parival, Siecle de Fer, tom. ii. p. 381. [o] Hist. du Cardinal Mazarine, Quincy, Le Clerc, Basnage, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. Voltaire. [p] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal. [q] Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

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Theſe misfortunes, however, ſeemed to be all buried in oblivion at Madrid, on the queen's being delivered on the 28th of November of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Philip Proſper, to the general ſatisfaction of the king and his ſubjects.

The affairs of Spain, inſtead of mending, grow worſe in Italy.

The count de Fuenſaldagna had ſpent the whole winter in contriving to block up Valenza, with a full intention to beſiege it as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit; but, before that time came, he met with a new mortification by the duke of Mantua's declaring himſelf neuter, in conſequence of a negotiation that had been carried on under the mediation of the republic of Venice. The duke de Navailles ſerved under the duke of Modena this year, the differences between the two princes having leſſened very much the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign. Before the count was in any condition to execute his project againſt Valenza, the two dukes marched directly towards him, while the Spaniſh forces under the command of the marquis de Villa took the fortreſs of Trin, in their march to join the army of the allies, which, arriving in the ſight of Milan, might have created ſome diſturbance, if the count de Fuenſaldagna had not thrown himſelf into it with the beſt part of his forces, a ſtep which kept the people quiet, and fruſtrated the enemy's deſigns. The duke of Modena, notwithſtanding, beſieged and took Mortara, the capital of the fertile diſtrict of Lomellino; and in all probability would have carried his ſucceſs farther, if a diſtemper, which ſeized him at this ſiege, had not removed him out of this world [r].

A.D. 1658.

In the Low Countries they grow ſtill much worſe, the Engliſh acting as auxiliaries to the French.

In the Low Countries the French formed a very bold deſign for ſurpriſing Oſtend; but it was managed with ſo little ſecreſy, that the Spaniards turned it to their advantage, inſomuch that they took marſhal d'Aumont, and all the troops that were to have executed it [s]. The viſcount Turenne, notwithſtanding this misfortune, reſolved to undertake the ſiege of Dunkirk, or rather was forced upon it, the French court being conſtrained to it, in order to oblige Cromwell. It was a difficult, or rather a deſperate enterprize, which could never have ſucceeded, if the Spaniards had taken the ſmalleſt precautions for its preſervation; but they had conceived an opinion that cardinal Mazarine had fixed his heart on becoming maſter of Cambray, and therefore bent all their attention to the ſecurity

[r] Ceſpides, Hiſt. Chronologique du dernier Siecle. [s] Batt. Nani, Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 225. Quincy, Hiſt. Militaire de Louis XIV. Reincourt, Montglat.

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of that place, notwithstanding his Britannic majesty, then in exile, gave them repeated notices that Dunkirk would be besieged. The marquis de Leyde, who was governor of that place, was at Brussels, soliciting succours, when the French appeared before it, and, not without difficulty, found means to get into it without the succours for which he had applied. Don Juan of Austria, having made this capital mistake in delaying, made another more fatal by hastening to its relief; for, marching with all the troops he could assemble, but without artillery, to the Downs, he proposed to wait there for a favourable opportunity of forcing the enemy's lines. Monsieur Turenne, penetrating his design, took the shortest method to prevent it, by attacking him immediately: notwithstanding that, Don Juan, the prince of Conde, the dukes of York and Gloucester, did all that was possible to encourage their troops, the army, sensible of the disadvantage under which they fought, were quickly and entirely defeated. This action happened on the 14th, and Dunkirk was taken on the 23d of June. Monsieur Turenne, pursuing his conquests, took Bergues Saint Vinox on the 2d of July, Furnes on the 3d, Dixmude on the 7th, Oudenarde on the 9th of September, Menin on the 17th, defeated the prince de Ligne on the 19th, and took Ipres on the 24th. In the mean time the marshal de Ferté took Gravelines; so that in the course of a war which lasted twenty-eight years, the Spaniards had never experienced so many disgraces in any one campaign [9].

Don Lewis de Haro takes the command on the side of Portugal, and loses the battle of Elvas.

On the side of Portugal both parties seemed determined to make the utmost efforts in their power. The queen-dowager, a woman of great vigilance and spirit, had assembled an army of eighteen thousand men, under the command of Don Juan Mendez de Vasconcellos, an old officer of great reputation, and sent him with express orders to reduce Badajoz. He amused himself however, with attacking the fort of St. Christopher's, which, after all, he was not able to take; and at last, rising from before it, passed the river, and besieged Badajoz. The duke de St. Germain, who commanded the Spanish troops, sent advice of this circumstance to Madrid, and informed the court, that the place was in so poor a condition, that it could not hold out long, and that it was utterly out of his

[9] Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Reincourt, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion.

power

power to relieve it. This declaration raised such murmurs amongst the people, that Don Lewis de Haro, collecting all the horse and foot that could be drawn out of both Castiles, marched with fifteen thousand men to Merida, where the duke de St. Germain, having forced a passage through the enemy's line, joined him with one thousand horse, and then marched directly towards the place; but, upon their approach, Vasconcellos raised the siege, and retired. Don Lewis de Haro, flushed with this success, and finding himself at the head of near twenty thousand men, resolved to conclude the campaign with reducing Elvas. The place was strong, and defended by Don Sancho Manuel, a stubborn man, who would have held out to extremity. The Spaniards, however, invested it, and pushed the siege with great vigour; but the queen-dowager having reinforced her troops, and given the command to the count de Castagneda, he advanced immediately to its relief. In point of regular troops, his army was inferior to that of the Spaniards; but more numerous, comprehending the militia. The duke de St. Germain drew out his forces, and gave him battle; in which part of his cavalry being defeated, and he, advancing in person to cover his foot, received a shot in the head, and fell from his horse; an accident which so discouraged his forces, that they presently broke, and were pursued with great fury by the Portuguese. The battle of Elvas was fought on the 23d of July. Don Lewis de Haro was spectator at a distance of this defeat, which cost the Spaniards about two thousand men, and returned immediately to Madrid. Don Rodrigo Moxico, who was next in command to the duke de St. Germain, fortified a post in the rear, and by that expedient rallied the troops, and made a good retreat; and the general, who was thought to be mortally wounded, through the skill and care of his surgeons, recovered [p].

The campaign in Catalonia, and the domestic affairs of the court of Spain.

The dispositions of the court of Spain for carrying on the war against Portugal, rendered the operations on the side of Catalonia slow and languishing. The marquis de St. Aunais, who commanded for the French in Roussillon, being desirous of doing something that might make an eclat before the arrival of the duke de Mercœur, who was to replace the duke de Candale, undertook the siege of Campredon, a place of some importance, between Gironne and Puicerda. The marquis de Mortara, who was unwilling to shew the weakness of Spain, by bringing his

[p] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal.

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troops into the field, did not let slip this opportunity of displaying his military skill, which really deserved a command of more importance. He drew his forces together so secretly and so suddenly, that the French saw them before they had the least intelligence, and scarce saw before they felt them; in short, he forced their lines in three places, and not only obliged them to raise the siege with precipitation, but so effectually ruined their army, that the marquis de Mortara kept the field all the rest of the campaign, while the duke de Mercœur was obliged to be on the defensive [q]. Another event happened this year, which gave equal joy to the king and his subjects, and contributed not a little towards restoring the general peace of Christendom: this was the birth of the infant Don Ferdinand Thomas, on the 21st of December, so that the king had now the pleasure of seeing two princes capable of the succession, though neither of them enjoyed it. It was this incident that chiefly contributed to remove that formidable objection which hitherto had defeated all negotiations for a general peace, though nothing could be more necessary to the several powers engaged in war, and was to none so necessary as to the crown of Spain [r].

Count Fuenfaldagna alters the dispositions of the courts of Madrid and Turin.

In Italy, the count de Fuensaldagna saw clearly the situation he was in; though, as governor of the Milanese, he maintained to the utmost the forms and the magnificence introduced by his predecessors, and sustained the dignity of the crown with a steadiness censured only by those who were strangers to his motives; yet he represented things plainly at Madrid, and gave the ministers to understand, that affairs in Italy were irretrievable by any thing but a peace; that the duchy of Milan was on the very point of being lost; that its natural strength was utterly exhausted; that to draw supplies from the two Sicilies was to hazard them; that the emperor was tied by his capitulation from affording them any succours; that promises from Spain were useless, or rather mischievous; and that France was negotiating a league offensive and defensive with the republic of Venice, the conclusion of which would be a prologue to the conclusion of their empire in Italy. To the duchess-dowager and regent of Savoy, he used a language somewhat different: he suggested, that if the French conquered the duchy of Milan, the territories of Savoy would be no more than a dependent province; those who were

[q] Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. i. p. 244. Montglat, tom. iv. p. 195. [r] Cespides, Hist. Gen. d'Espagne.

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now their allies would become their masters; and those prerogatives, of which all sovereigns are jealous, would be immediately diminished, and gradually absorbed. His arguments had their weight every where; king Philip was so much astonished at the danger, that he resolved to renew the negotiation which he had rejected; and the duchess of Savoy, though so nearly allied in blood to Lewis XIV. saw the count's reasoning in so strong a light, that she resolved to give no farther assistance to the conquest of Milan. She would, perhaps, have made greater alterations in her measures, but for the views she had of marrying the princess Margaret her daughter to that monarch, with which alliance the cardinal had amused her long[s], and which had contributed not a little to keep her in the French interest.

Spain sends a minister privately to the king and cardinal, to renew the negotiation.

The remonstrances of the count Fuensaldagna engaged the duchess of Savoy to deal so explicitly with the French ministers, that the cardinal was constrained to bring the court to Lyons, that the king, and the queen his mother, might have an interview with the duchess of Savoy and the princess Margaret. The news of this interview made such an impression at Madrid, that Don Antonio de Pimentel was immediately sent to Lyons incognito, where, by applying himself to the cardinal, with strong assurances that his catholic majesty had no longer any repugnance to the marriage proposed between the most Christian king and the infanta, his proposition was accepted, and all thoughts of marriage with Savoy were laid aside. The count de Fuensaldagna remained master of the negotiation on the behalf of Spain; for, though Pimentel received full powers from Madrid, yet he made a tour, in order to confer with the count de Fuensaldagna, from whom he received his instructions. The great difficulty related to the prince of Conde, whose interests were at last given up by the count, who, perhaps, remembered the differences that had been between them in the Low Countries; but, by way of equivalent, Portugal was given up by France. At length the preliminaries were settled at Paris, and, in consequence of them, and of the queen's interposition, France consented to a suspension of arms, and to the final adjusting of the treaty between the two ministers on the frontiers. These conferences were held in an island scarce

[s] Montglat, Hist. de Mazarine, Hist. de la Paix des Pyrenees, Memoires de Motteville, Memoires de Madame Montpensier, Cespides, Batt. Nani.

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heard of before, but which from this tranſaction became famous; it lay in the middle of the river Bidaſſoa, and was called the Iſle of Pheaſants. There was a kind of hall of audience erected, with a chair and a table on each ſide, but the oppoſite ſides of the table met. Don Lewis de Haro paſſed over a bridge from the Spaniſh ſide, at the ſame time that the cardinal Mazarine advanced over a bridge on the other; they entered at oppoſite doors, and ſeated themſelves in the dominions of their reſpective maſters.

Cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro conclude the peace of the Pyrenees.

Theſe conferences began on the 13th of Auguſt, and ended on the 7th of November, and were in number twenty-four. Don Lewis, contrary to the preliminaries, brought the affair of the prince of Conde again upon the carpet, and preſſed it extremely; but the cardinal remained firm, and even went ſo far as to ſay, that he perceived this negotiation would end like that which had miſcarried three years before. Don Lewis proteſted it ſhould not, and that he would adhere to the letter of the preliminaries. He added, his catholic majeſty could not break his faith, and would therefore give the prince of Conde a diſtrict in ſovereignty, or the government of the Low Countries. This declaration forced the cardinal to diſcloſe himſelf; for the prince of Conde, foreſeeing what would happen, and deſirous of returning home, had already ſubmitted, and given up all his pretenſions. The cardinal offered, therefore, that the equivalent intended for the prince ſhould be given to the crown of France, and
A.D. 1659. that the king ſhould beſtow his office of great-maſter of his houſhold on his ſon the duke of Enguien, and give the prince the government of Burgundy and Breſſe, which propoſition was accepted. While the conferences laſted, marſhal Gramont was ſent to Madrid, to demand the infanta. He entered the place, not with the pomp and ſtate of an ambaſſador, but in the new ſtyle of royal courier, preceded by a poſt-maſter, and a certain number of poſtilions, who were followed by a troop of ſixty gentlemen, after whom came the ambaſſador all on the gallop, to expreſs their maſter's impatience to have the infanta. It is not to be conceived what an effect this trivial circumſtance had on the Spaniſh nation, and even on the king, who conſented to the marriage with the beſt grace in the world. The treaty was at length ſigned, notwithſtanding the diſturbance given to Don Lewis by the duke of Lorrain, who was now ſet at liberty, and whoſe intereſts were very little conſidered, or the uneaſineſs given to the cardinal by the ambaſ-

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ambaſſadors of Portugal, and the perplexity they were jointly under from the preſence of king Charles II. and of the lord ambaſſador Lockhart, who, on the cardinal's aſking him for whom he acted, anſwered pleaſantly, that it was a point not yet ſettled in England, but that what he offered was on the part of thoſe who ſhould be uppermoſt. The renunciations alſo embarraſſed them not a little; but at length the cardinal relaxed in that point, and ſuffered the Spaniards to do almoſt what they pleaſed, foreſeeing that time and power would wear or break all theſe paper engagements. Thus ended this famous negotiation, which produced the treaty of the Pyrenees [t], equally blamed in France and in Spain, and, for that reaſon, it may be juſtly conſidered as the beſt and moſt equal that could be made at that juncture, all circumſtances conſidered.

One of the principal motives that determined both Philip IV. and his miniſter to the marriage and peace with France, was, the deſire of turning the whole force of the Spaniſh monarchy upon Portugal. It was with this view that Don Juan of Auſtria was recalled in the ſpring of the preceding year. This event, though ſomewhat unexpected, was not at all diſpleaſing to him, for he was become heartily weary of the Low Countries, where he ſaw nothing but miſery, and heard nothing but complaints. He concealed the order he had received, departed privately, and left the government to the marquis de Carracena. He returned through France, found the court wholly occupied with the great affair of the peace, yet fully determined on the conqueſt of Portugal, for which there was nothing wanting but the means. The king thought it no difficult matter to conſtrain the houſe of Braganza, now abandoned by France, to be content with their hereditary eſtates, which he was deſirous they ſhould enjoy. Don Lewis de Haro deſired to be revenged for the loſs of the battle of Elvas. Don Juan deſired they would have patience till the peace was ſo thoroughly ſettled, as that a certain number of regiments might be drawn out of Italy and the Low Countries, ſince without old troops he could not at all anſwer for the ſucceſs of the war. The loſſes ſuſtained by the depredations committed at ſea by the Engliſh, and the expences neceſſary for the concluſion of the infanta's marriage, made this delay very convenient; ſo that they

A.D. 1660.

The marriage confirmed, and the peace ſworn to in the Iſland of Pheaſants.

[t] Quincy, Hiſt. Militaire de Louis XIV. Hiſt. du Cardinal de Mazarine, Hiſt. du Prince de Conde, Hiſt. de la Paix des Pyrenees, Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 264.

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were on both sides very inactive, and this campaign as little fertile of events as the last. It had been agreed, that his catholic majesty and the most Christian king should have an interview in the Isle of Pheasants; previous to which their ministers met there, to adjust the ceremonial, and to terminate some disputes that had arisen upon certain articles of the peace. At length, on the 3d of June, the marriage was celebrated at Fontarabia, Don Lewis de Haro representing the most Christian king. On the 4th, the queen-mother had an interview with his catholic majesty, whom she had not seen in forty-five years: he brought with him the infanta and Don Lewis de Haro; she was accompanied by her younger son and cardinal Mazarine. The queen and the infanta expressed great tenderness; the king preserved a fixed gravity, that differed little from coldness. His sister complained of it; and he contented himself with saying, that exterior marks of passion were not becoming kings. On the other hand, he was extremely civil to cardinal Mazarine, and, amongst other compliments, told him, that Europe stood indebted to him for peace. The king of France looked in towards the end of the interview, as if it was by stealth; upon which Philip could not help saying to his sister, with less gravity than he had hitherto shewn, that he was like to have a handsome son-in-law; and Lewis immediately retired. On Sunday the 6th of June the peace was sworn to with great solemnity by both kings. The nobility of France were then presented to his catholic majesty, who said to his sister, upon her naming the marshal Turenne, "He has made me pass many restless nights." The Spanish grandees, who were about fifteen in number, were in like manner presented to the most Christian king. The French were very richly dressed, the Spaniards were perfectly plain, except that they wore jewels to a prodigious value. Both the royal families had an interview at parting; at which Lewis, after throwing himself at his father's feet, to receive his blessing, embraced him, when he rose, with so much passion, that Philip, who had preserved his temper wonderfully at parting with his daughter, lost it, and burst into tears. The same sensibility appeared with respect to monsieur; and the two courts left each other in terms of the most perfect friendship and affection [u].

[u] Memoires de Madame de Motteville. Histoire du Cardinal Mazarine. Memoires de Madame Montpensier, Montglat. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. Quincy Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV.

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The prince of Conde, at his leaving the Low Countries to return into France, was treated with all imaginable reſpect. The marquis de Carracena accompanied him a league from Bruſſels, and all poſſible marks of eſteem were ſhewn in the places through which he paſſed. The people, however, were not much diſpleaſed with his departure; for his troops, like thoſe of the duke of Lorrain, had lived in a manner at free-quarter, and had oppreſſed that country which they pretended to protect; which conduct, however, was excuſable in ſome meaſure, by their being very indifferently paid, as all the troops were in the ſervice of Spain. A very different conduct was obſerved with regard to his Britannic majeſty, whom the marquis de Carracena would have arreſted, if he had not withdrawn very critically into the dominions of the States General. This inſult was remembered after his return into his own dominions, as well as the heartineſs with which the court of Madrid had embraced the friendſhip of the parliament when they firſt took upon them the ſupreme authority. On this ſide, therefore, the Spaniards ſtood but indifferently; and they found likewiſe a viſible coldneſs at the court of Vienna, where the emperor Leopold was not a little chagrined at the loſs of the infanta, for whoſe ſake he had made very large offers to king Philip and his miniſters, which, without doubt, would have been accepted, if they had not conceived of his ability in the ſame light as they did of his intention [w].

Affairs of Spain remain perplexed, even after the concluſion of this treaty.

It was the principal object of the Spaniſh miniſtry to preſerve the peace, ſo neceſſary to their affairs, which had been obtained with ſo much trouble, and which had coſt them ſo dear. This conſideration induced them to look upon the death of cardinal Mazarine, which happened in the ſpring, as a great misfortune, the catholic king having a great confidence in his pacific diſpoſition. He left a picture of Titian's, of prodigious value, to Don Lewis de Haro, and beſtowed a golden table-clock on the count de Fuenſaldagna, which ſerved to confirm this opinion, at a time when it could be only the ſubject of regret [x]. The army of Don Juan was in reality very conſiderable: he had thirteen thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, Spaniſh, German, and Italian troops, commanded by the beſt officers that were in the Spaniſh ſervice. He began with

A.D. 1661.

Don Juan moderately ſucceſsful in the war againſt the crown of Portugal.

[w] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. Hiſtoire du Prince de Conde. [x] Hiſt. du Cardinal Mazarine. Memoires de Madame de Motteville, Choiſy, Montglat, Ceſpides.

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the siege of Aronches, a place important by its situation, and capable of being made much more so, if it had been properly fortified. The Portuguese army advanced as far as Elvas, though they were not strong enough to relieve it. The governor spared them the trouble, by yielding it sooner to the Spaniards than he needed to have done. Don Juan, having caused the place to be thoroughly repaired, and some farther works to be added, put his troops into quarters of refreshment. The Portuguese, either to acquire or to maintain the character of bravery, attacked the Spanish cavalry; but they were repulsed with considerable loss. When the heats were over, Don Juan took the field again, and besieged Alconchel, but not with any great vigour, that the Portuguese army might have time, if they were so inclined, to come to its relief; but as the governor was not in Don Juan's secret, he spoiled his scheme, by surrendering the place before it was expected. Don Juan caused it to be well fortified, put a Spanish garrison into it, and then, retiring to Badajoz, suffered his army to take winter-quarters *y*. He perceived plainly the enemy would not fight, and was unwilling his troops should moulder away in sieges.

This no way answered the hopes or the necessities of the Spanish ministers.

Don Lewis de Haro was extremely displeased with this campaign; he had flattered himself with the conquest of Portugal, and there had not been so much as a battle. On the other hand, Don Juan acquainted the king that he stood in need of recruits and supplies; that kingdoms were not so easily conquered; that the enemy acted with great caution; and that, if any accident happened to this army, he did not see how his majesty could form such another. He had certainly reason on his side, and yet the ministers were not altogether in the wrong. France, notwithstanding the peace, had suffered count Schomberg, who was an excellent officer, to go to Portugal with six hundred volunteers. It was by his lights the Portuguese generals directed their conduct: he advised them to excursions and skirmishes, but to avoid battles, that they might gradually form their troops, while those of Don Juan were diminished. The court of England had embraced the interests of Portugal, negotiated a peace with Holland, assisted them with money, though it is said that money came from France, and Charles had entered into a treaty for marrying the princess Catharine, sister to the young king of Portugal. The short remedy for these mis-

y Stevens's Supplement.

chiefs

chiefs was to conquer that country, and dethrone the king. They were certainly right in their measures, but they mistook the means. They published to all Europe the design of this conquest, which did not at all contribute towards effecting it.

They sent the baron de Batteville to London, to insult a prince who was already out of humour. In a memorial, he proposed to Charles the choice of several princesses, in favour of whom he promised, on the part of Spain, mighty advantages; concluding with menaces if his advice was not taken; for which he was forbid the court [a]. He then, according to the common practice of Spanish ministers, fell to intriguing and plotting with the malecontents. This conduct not being discouraged in time, he rashly engaged in a quarrel with the French minister, the count d'Estrades, for precedency, and gained some advantage over him by force, having distributed his money liberally amongst the mob [a]. The archbishop of Ambrun demanded, in the name of his master, immediate satisfaction, if the court of Spain was inclined to avoid a war. The count de Fuensaldagna was then at Paris, and did all he could to qualify matters. He was going into the Low Countries with the title of governor, but died on the road. A little before his death he wrote to Don Lewis de Haro, that peace was necessary to Spain, and consequently those measures that were necessary to maintain peace. Philip himself was of the same mind; upon which the count de Fuentes was sent ambassador extraordinary into France to give up the precedency in the most solemn manner; to perpetuate the memory of which concession the French caused his audience to be engraved upon a medal: but before this affair was settled, Don Lewis de Haro was in his grave, and the court of Madrid plunged in the deepest melancholy for the death of the only surviving prince of Spain; which gloom was, however, in some measure dissipated by the birth of Carlos, on the 5th of December [b].

Behave in all respects in a manner very unsuitable to the circumstances of the monarchy.

[a] Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 366. Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. de Ramsey, Choisy, Stevens's Supplement.
[a] See the whole relation as drawn up by the celebrated John Evelyn, esq. at the command of Charles II. of the manner of the encounter between the French and Spanish ambassadors, at the landing of the Swedish ambassador, in Philips's Continuation of Baker's Chronicle.
[b] Memoires de Madame de Motteville, Montglat, Martiniere. Hist. General d'Espagne. Hist. Chronologique du dernier Siecle.

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A.D. 1662.

Campaign in Portugal very favourable.

The war with Portugal was carried on this year with greater vigour than ever. None of the miniſters about his catholic majeſty had the ſame credit with Don Lewis, and Don Juan's intereſt with his father was ſo good that he obtained from him all that he aſked. He took the field in the month of May, and intended to have opened the campaign with the ſiege of Eſtremoz; but the count de Caſtagneda, now ſtyled the marquis of Marialva, encamped under its cannon with his army, which conſiſted of twelve thouſand men; and therefore, at the requeſt of the officers who commanded under him, he declined the ſiege of that place, and proſecuted his march, which threw Portugal into the utmoſt conſternation. Many have believed, that if he had purſued his march to Liſbon, he muſt have carried it, the inhabitants being filled with a panic, and they had no relief to expect; but Don Juan was afraid to truſt his army in ſo large a place with another at his back. Villabuim was ſurrendered by the French governor; and, in his way to Jurumenha, he came before Borba, a poor old place, once fortified, but then in ruins. Don Rodrigo de Cunha had in it a ſmall garriſon, with which he prevailed upon the inhabitants to join; however, it was carried by ſtorm, the garriſon made priſoners of war, the town burnt, the people plundered, and, to crown all, Don Rodrigo, and two of his captains, were hanged in the market-place. He next beſieged Jurumenha, a ſtrong place, well fortified, with a garriſon of three thouſand men, commanded by Don Manuel Lobato Pinto, who defended it long enough for the Portugueſe army to come to its relief; but they found the camp of Don Juan ſo well fortified, that they durſt not attempt any thing, and conſequently the place ſurrendered on the beſt terms that could be obtained. Don Juan next appeared before Villaviciosa, but there again he found the Portugueſe encamped under the walls; upon which he turned and took two large towns, full of military ſtores and proviſions, without any reſiſtance. Crato, which belonged to the knights of Malta, and in a worſe condition, was taken ſword in hand, and the governor was ſhot. The reduction of a few inconſiderable places more finiſhed this campaign, which terrified the Portugueſe extremely, though count Schomberg had brought their army into good order[e]. The French king having quarrelled with

[e] Stevens's Continuation of Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal.

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the pope, and carried his pretenſions very high, his catholic majeſty concurred with him, a circumſtance which occaſioned many ſpeculations. Dunkirk alſo was this year ſold to the French for an inconſiderable ſum of money, which, if it had not been for the ill conduct of Batteville, would very probably have been reſtored to the Spaniſh Netherlands [d].

The moſt Chriſtian king had refuſed, when requeſted by his Britannic majeſty, to contribute any aſſiſtance towards the relief of the Portugueſe. His catholic majeſty, on the firſt application of the biſhop of Ambrun, promiſed a free paſſage through his dominions in Italy to the French army that was to act againſt the pope. Both courts were alike ſincere; for the care of ſupporting Portugal was committed to marſhal Turenne by the one, and meaſures were taken to ſhut all the paſſages into Italy by the other. Don Juan was not ſo early in the field as in the former campaign; but he had a better army, and marched at the head of twenty-one thouſand men directly towards Ebora. The young king of Portugal, Don Alonſo, at this time a perfect boy, and not all promiſing in point of parts, had depoſed his mother, to whom his father and himſelf owed their crowns, from the regency; ſo that there was ſcarce the form of civil government left. He had appointed Don Sancho Manuel, count de Villaflor, to command the army; but, by good fortune, count Schomberg was left to aſſiſt him. The firſt ſtep the count took was to ſend a new governor to Ebora, without withdrawing the old one. As ſoon as the place was inveſted they quarrelled, and in five days the new governor gave it up. The news excited an inſurrection at Liſbon, and ſtruck a panic into the army. Count Schomberg recovered them, by ſhewing the advantages that might be taken of Don Juan in his retreat. Theſe advantages were taken gradually, ſo that the ſoldiers comprehended them better than the generals who envied him, becauſe he was a ſtranger. Don Juan beheld their motions and encampments with amazement, and was ſo generous as to commend a general whom the Portugueſe abuſed.

A.D. 1663.

Don Juan enters that kingdom, and takes the city of Ebora.

At length they attacked him in a mountainous paſſage, as his infantry marched along the tops of ſteep hills, where it was judged impracticable to reach them. The

[d] Corps Diplomatique, tom. vi. par. ii. p. 432. Buſſi Hiſt. de Louis le Grand. Montglat, Reincourt, Ceſpides, Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times.

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Is beat by the Portuguese at the battle of Ebora, by which that city is speedily recovered.

English regiments in the army of Portugal crept up those hills upon their hands and knees; the French officers, and at length the Portuguese, followed their example. The Spanish troops did not behave so well as they were wont to do, notwithstanding that Don Juan dismounted, and exposed himself extremely. His army was routed, with the loss of between three and four thousand killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the side of the Portuguese there fell about a thousand. This battle fixed the crown upon the head of the house of Braganza; and the count de Villaflor recovered Ebora after a week's siege. Don Juan, having conducted the remains of his army to Badajoz, went in person to Madrid, to justify his conduct; but he returned again to the army, and made the necessary dispositions for protecting the frontiers [e]. The king Don Philip, finding his health declining, and repeated fits of the gravel wearing away his strength, concluded a treaty with the emperor Leopold, for the support and maintenance of the house of Austria; in consequence of which he brought a great body of German troops into the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples, and consented likewise to his marrying his youngest daughter, whom he had declared capable of inheriting the Low Countries, and all the rest of his dominions. This contract for the marriage was not consummated till after his demise, and was presented by the marquis de Fuentes to be subscribed by Lewis XIV; but that satisfaction was refused. The catholic king had the farther displeasure of seeing the imperial troops recalled, almost as soon as they arrived, the emperor being attacked by the Turks [f].

A.D. 1664.

The ministers disgusted by the want of success in two campaigns, send for the marquis de Carracena.

After all the pains Don Juan was able to take with the ministers, and notwithstanding his interest with the king his father, the affairs of Spain were in so bad a situation, that it was impossible for him to procure the necessary supplies. The Portuguese, therefore, under the command of the marquis Marialva, were not only first in the field, but alone in it likewise; for, after reinforcing the garrisons, Don Juan had only a great corps of horse left, with about two or three thousand foot. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Portuguese besieged Valentia de Alcantara, a place strong by situation, large, rich, and well

[e] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's History of Portugal. Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. de Ramsay, Desmaretz.
[f] Quincy Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Hist. General d'Espagne.

fortified,

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fortified. Don Juan sent a body of horse to disturb the besiegers, and directed the governor to defend himself to the last extremity. He obeyed these instructions till he found himself in want of powder, and then thought fit to capitulate; a step which perhaps he would not have taken so soon, but for the bad example which Don Juan had given in hanging and shooting governors, who, in his opinion, defended places too long. The duke of Ossuna, who was a very brave man, commanded an independent body of seven thousand troops, and was very desirous of distinguishing himself: this desire induced him to make an inroad into Portugal, and to besiege Castel Rodrigo, which was a place of strength. Don Pedro Magellans, who commanded on that side the troops of Portugal, forced him first to raise the siege, and then to fight, where, though he behaved himself very gallantly, his troops were routed, and himself forced to retire, leaving two thousand men dead upon the spot. The Spanish ministers, attributing all these misfortunes to Don Juan, sent count Marsin to take the command of the army; upon which Don Juan returned to Madrid [s]. They also engaged the king to confer the government of the Low Countries on Don Francisco de Mauro, count of Castel Rodrigo, that the marquis of Carracena might be at liberty to return into Spain, and command against Portugal. The emperor, having demanded succours of France against the Turks, obtained them; but upon this express condition, that his catholic majesty should send the like number of troops out of Italy, a demand which was made, to prevent their being brought into Spain to serve against the Portuguese; and, in revenge, the Spanish ministers engaged the emperor to make a very indifferent peace with the Turks, after the victory at St. Goddart. They had not the same ascendancy in the United Provinces, the states shewing a visible partiality to the French, through the influence of the grand pensionary John de Witt.

The count de Marsin, though a stranger, had the confidence of the ministry, who, though they did not furnish Don Juan with troops during the campaign, yet enabled this French officer to form gradually a very fine army in the winter. It was in truth the last army they had to raise, and comprehended all the old regiments of Spaniards, Germans, and Italians, that were not yet worn out,

[s] Stevens's Continuation of Sousa's Hist. of Portugal.

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A.D. 1665. amounting in the whole to fifteen thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe. On the arrival of Don Joſeph de Benavides, marquis of Carracena, late in the preceding year, he was preſſed to go immediately to the army; but he deſired that the duke of Aveyro, who, though a grandee of Portugal, partly from pride, but in appearance out of regard to the oath he had taken to Philip, had left an eſtate of forty thouſand crowns a year, and lived in Caſtile, ſhould aſſemble a fleet at Seville, in order to block up Liſbon by ſea, when he ſhould arrive before it with the army. At length he went to the army; upon which count Marſin retired, becauſe he would not ſerve under him. The firſt thing the marquis did, after reviewing his own troops, was to obtain the beſt informations poſſible as to the country of Portugal, the ſituation of mountains and rivers in his paſſage to Liſbon, and the character of the Portugueſe troops, and the officers who commanded them. Theſe opened to him new ſcenes, and obliged him to entertain new notions. He found the country was not to be ſo eaſily traverſed as he imagined; and he was amazed to hear that the enemy's cavalry was numerous and full of ſpirit; that their foot, by the management of foreign officers, were become hardy, patient, and wonderfully exact in obedience; but what troubled him moſt was, that, in the factions at the court of Liſbon, count Schomberg had ſo effectually ſupported the councils of the marquis de Marialva, that the latter had an intire confidence in him.

He arrives, and flatters the miniſtry with the hopes of conquering Portugal in one campaign.

Is totally defeated in the plain of Montes Claros, where the laſt army of Spain is ruined.

However, Carracena took the field early; but, inſtead of marching to Liſbon, inveſted Villaviciosa, which was defended by Brito, an old Portugueſe officer, very ſkilful in the art of war, and very ſtubborn. There were three ſtrong poſts without the town, which he cauſed to be occupied by the beſt part of his garriſon: the marquis de Carracena, deſirous of carrying them at once, cauſed them to be attacked by all the grenadiers in the army, who were every where repulſed with great loſs; but the governor immediately withdrew his troops, and abandoned them all, that he might be in a better condition to defend the place. When the ſiege had continued long enough to weaken the aſſailants, the Portugueſe army appeared; upon which the marquis raiſed the ſiege, and marched to give the enemy battle. It was fought in the plain of Montes Claros with the greateſt obſtinacy on both ſides, and laſted eight hours: in the end the Portugueſe

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gueſe gained a complete victory, killed four thouſand on the ſpot, took Don Diego Corrier, general of the Spaniſh horſe, many officers of note, and more than four thouſand men, priſoners. When Philip IV. received the news of this defeat, he had only ſtrength to ſay, "It is the will of God;" then dropped the letter, and ſwooned [b]. The miniſters loſt their ſpirits, the populace upbraided them openly with betraying Don Juan of Auſtria, and ſacrificing the glory of Caſtile to their private intereſts. The remains of the Spaniſh army being thrown into garriſons, the Portugueſe very wiſely declined making ſieges, and put their troops into quarters of refreſhment; for their victory had been pretty dearly bought, but when the campaign was finiſhed at land, it began again at ſea. The duke of Aveyro, having at length completed his ſquadron at Cadiz, cruiſed along the coaſts of Portugal, and committed ſome depredations, which were ſeverely revenged by count Schomberg's irruption into Andaluſia, which was executed with ſo much vigour, and at the ſame time with ſuch great conduct, that the Portugueſe returned with an immenſe booty, before the Spaniards recovered from their firſt ſurprize.

Death of Don Philip IV. and a ſuccinct character of that monarch, and his adminiſtration.

The ſituation of affairs in Spain was at this time extremely critical; the miniſters had not much the confidence of their maſter, and were in abſolute diſgrace with the people. Don Juan of Auſtria was at Conſuegra in diſcontent; and though the marquis de Carracena kept up his ſpirits, and perſuaded them that if they would recruit and reinforce his army, he would ſtill do all he had promiſed, it had no manner of effect; on the contrary, the court in general was inclined to a peace, and yet they were ſlow in making any attempts towards it. Out of this lethargy they were awakened by a new misfortune; for on the 12th of September, the king was ſeized with a dyſentery ſo violently, that, in two hours, he was in great danger of death. Next day he was in a condition to make his will, and, though weak, appeared ſomewhat better, but in a few days he relapſed, and, having received the ſacraments of the church, breathed his laſt in his palace at Madrid, on the 17th of the ſame month, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, after a reign of forty-four years [i]. He

[b] Stevens's Continuation of Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal. Hiſt. Generale d'Eſpagne. Memoires of Madame de Motteville, Quincy Hiſt. Milit. de Louis XIV. [i] Memoires Hiſt. & Chronolog. Stevens's Contin. of Souſa's Hiſt. of Portugal. Hiſtoire Chronolog. du dernier Siecle.

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was in himself a prince of more than moderate abilities, and, if he had received a better education, he would certainly have made a much greater figure. But the great artifice of Olivares in soothing his propensity to pleasure, in magnifying the fatigues of business, and making him believe he underwent a martyrdom to relieve him from the weight of the administration, kept him so long in a state of indolence, that, even when he thought it necessary, he could not bring himself to a proper degree of application. He loved magnificence, had a very polite taste, spoke with great vivacity upon many occasions, and, though his reign was far from being fortunate, had the grandeur of the Spanish monarchy always at heart. By his testament, he called to the succession his son Don Carlos; and in case he died without issue, left the crown to the infanta Donna Margaret, contracted to the emperor Leopold; in case she died without issue, the succession was to pass to her husband, and his heirs male; upon the failure of them, to the duke of Savoy; and, upon the extinction of that house, it was to descend to his eldest daughter, provided she was a widow, and to the children of her second marriage, if she had any such. He settled the regency in the queen his widow, and appointed the president of the council of Castile (the first civil officer in this monarchy), the vice-chancellor of Arragon (so styled, though there never is any chancellor), the inquisitor-general, the archbishop of Toledo, and the marquis of Aytona (of the house of Moncada in Catalonia), her council. He was interred in that magnificent dormitory of the Spanish kings, called the Pantheon, which he had rebuilt and finished in the year 1655 [k].

[k] Les Delices d'Espagne & du Portugal, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar. Cespides.

SECT.

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SECT. XVIII.

The History of the Reign of Charles II. the last Monarch of Spain of the House of Austria.

THE young king, Charles the Second, was inaugurated on the 7th of October, being at that time not quite four years of age. He was of a weak and tender constitution, but of parts so pregnant and promising, that when he was proclaimed in the Low Countries, the people expressed, by every method they could devise, their expectations that he would resemble his ancestor of the same name, the glorious emperor Charles the Fifth. It was a misfortune to him that the queen his mother, though the daughter of an emperor, the widow of a king, and the sister of the reigning emperor, had not the talents requisite to the right management of power; it was still a greater misfortune that she was jealous and fond of it to the last degree; but it was the greatest of all that she was possessed of it, through a course of years more than sufficient to ruin the authority of the crown, to exhaust the subject, and to disable this unfortunate prince himself from repairing these mischiefs when he was sincerely inclined to such a reformation. She was intirely devoted to the interests of the court of Vienna, and governed in all things by the counsels that she received from thence, except in points that regarded her private inclinations; for in these she listened to no counsel at all. The first was a fault, but, her descent and circumstances considered, very excusable; the latter was a greater fault, and, which was worse, would not admit of any excuse or alleviation. She persisted obstinately in both against the remonstrances of the ablest of her council, as well as all the lights of reason and experience.

Accession of Don Carlos II. and character of his mother the queen regent.

At her first entrance on the government, she was desirous of bringing her confessor, father Nitard, a man of low birth, of a very limited capacity, a stranger, unacquainted with public affairs, and not at all beloved, into the council of regency, which aim she effected by engaging the cardinal of Arragon to resign to him the post of inquisitor-general, an employment of great weight, and hitherto highly respected in Spain. By her influence over the late king, she had prevailed upon him, in his last mo-

A.D. 1666.

Her unaccountable conduct at her entering upon the regency, and her obstinacy therein.

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ments, to exclude his natural son Don Juan from having any share in the administration, though he was a prince of confessed abilities, both as a statesman and soldier, had given great proofs of them, was intirely beloved by the people, and in every respect worthy of her confidence, more especially from his great disinterestedness, and his tender affection to the person of the king. In this measure she was at first abetted by most of the ministry, and by many of the grandees, from principles of prejudice, envy, and private interest; but by degrees she lost this support, for they saw so plainly that he was the only person capable of restoring the credit, and sustaining the weight, of government, that they concurred with the people in desiring that he might be recalled and employed; to which measure she was so averse, from the apprehension that he would dismiss her ecclesiastical favourite from the council, or at least circumscribe his power, that she formed a design of removing that prince out of the kingdom, under the pretence of sending him to govern the Low Countries. The weakness and unsteadiness of her conduct, which would have been highly prejudicial at any time, proved particularly destructive at this juncture, when affairs were in such a state as demanded the greatest circumspection and fortitude to prevent all things from running into confusion[a].

A.D.1667. *Compelled to make peace with Portugal, and to acknowlege the rights of the house of Braganza.*

At the demise of king Philip IV. Spain still remained engaged in the war with Portugal, and Charles II. scarce began to reign, before a war with France became inevitable. In regard to Portugal, the marquis del Carpio, who was prisoner there, had instructions and powers sent him to treat of a peace, under the mediation of Charles II. king of Great Britain; for the Spaniards had at length found out that nothing could prove more prejudicial to their affairs than a quarrel, nothing contribute so much to their prosperity as a good understanding, with England; yet they were so dilatory in their negotiation, and so unwilling to acknowlege Don Alonso for king of Portugal, that they suffered the season to escape them, in which the treaty might have been concluded most to their advantage, from a persuasion that it was always in their power, and that they might conclude it how and when they pleased. But the French, who had a great interest in the continuance of the war, made suddenly an unex-

[a] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. Memoires de Madame Motteville.

pected

pected treaty with Portugal, and granted to that crown a conſiderable ſubſidy [b]. This was very near anſwering their purpoſe, and taking the Portugueſe intirely out of the hands of the Engliſh; but the Spaniards, ſeeing this deſign in time, laid aſide all their ſcruples, recurred to the old mediation, and ſigned a peace, by which both kings were to reſtore all places taken during the war, except Ceuta in Barbary, which was to remain to Spain. All confiſcations were alſo to be void, all priſoners to be ſet at liberty on both ſides without ranſom, free commerce between both nations to be reſtored; and if, in proceſs of time, any doubts or diſputes ſhould ariſe, they were to be amicably diſcuſſed, without having recourſe to arms. A.D.1668. Thus, after twenty-eight years war, the right of the houſe of Braganza was acknowleged, and the two crowns reconciled, by a fair and final treaty of peace, under the guaranty of the crown of Great Britain, ſubſcribed at Liſbon on the 13th of February, by the duke de Cardaval, the marquis of Niza, admiral of the Indies, the marquis de Goubea, the marquis of Marialva, the conde de Miranda, and Pedro Vieyra de Silva, ſecretary of ſtate on the part of Portugal, Don Gaſpar de Haro Guzman, marquis del Carpio, on the part of his catholic majeſty and his mother, and by Edward Montagu, earl of Sandwich, on the part of the king of Great Britain. It was ſolemnly ratified at Madrid on the 23d of the ſame month [c].

War with France, and vaſt ſacrifices made by the crown of Spain in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The queen mother of France died five months after her brother the king of Spain; and it was given out by the French king and his miniſters, that out of decency, and in regard to the melancholy ſituation of both the royal families, they had not inſiſted on the right of the French queen to a great part of the Low Countries, in virtue of what was ſtyled the Jus Devolutionis, or cuſtom of Brabant, by which the children of the firſt marriage, whether male or female, are heirs to each other, in preference to the children of a ſecond marriage. In conſequence of this title, the French ambaſſador preſented his maſter's letter to the queen mother, demanding immediate poſſeſſion of what devolved to the infanta Maria Thereſa, queen of France, as the heireſs of her brother Don Balthaſar [d].

[b] Corps Diplomatique Univerſel du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. part i. p. 17. [c] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Stevens's Continuation of Souſa's Hiſtory of Portugal, Hiſtoire general d'Eſpagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. [d] Memoires de Madame de Motteville, Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Montglat, Reincourt.

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In answer to this demand the queen of Spain and her council declared, that, if there was any such right, it had been clearly renounced at the time of the infanta's marriage. The most Christian king, who had been from the time of his catholic majesty's death providing every thing for the execution of his project, rushed immediately with three great armies into the field, and laid the foundation of his future greatness, in taking a multitude of places in no state of defence, and in a time of full peace. The affairs of Spain in the Low Countries were indeed in a very low condition, and not under the best administration; for though the marquis of Castel Rodrigo could not but be sensible of the great weakness of the provinces still obedient to the Spanish crown, and the necessity they must be under, whenever attacked, of recurring to the protection of some friendly neighbour, yet he was far from treating either of the maritime powers with kindness or respect. On the contrary, under the name of the bishop of Munster, he had projected taking Williamstadt from the Dutch, which design, though the states discovered, they were willing to pass over, upon his disavowing it. Indeed they had suffered themselves to be amused a second time by France, by a treaty of partition, as if the injustice of tearing these provinces from Spain could be alleviated or atoned for by their having a part of them. It was the resentment of the former, and their flattering themselves too much from the latter kind of usage, that suspended their resolutions, and rendered them tame, though not quiet, spectators of the mischiefs to which their neighbours were exposed. France gained in one campaign more than in the course of the former war of many years; and, not content with these acquisitions, in the succeeding winter, partly through force, and partly through treachery, made herself mistress of the county of Burgundy, or, as it is usually styled, the Franche Comté, in which expedition the prince of Conde, was the instrument Lewis XIV. thought fit to employ [e]. This progress awakened the jealousy of the states, who, with very unusual vigour and presence of mind, concluded with Great Britain and Sweden the famous triple alliance [f], the best and boldest political measure taken in the last age, which saved the Spa-

[e] Histoire du Prince de Conde, Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire generale d'Espagne. [f] Burnet's History of his own Times, Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. p. i. p. 62.

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pish Low Countries from being swallowed up. For the French king, perceiving that, if he carried on the war, it would be no longer against a weak and defenceless power, thought fit to stop short, and very wisely, though unwillingly, concluded the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle on the 2d of May [g], by which he retained Charleroi, Binch, Ath, Douai, le Fort de l'Escarpe, Lisle, Oudenarde, Armentieres, Courtray, Bergues, Furnes, with their bailiwicks, and other conquests, but thought fit to restore Franche Comté. The Spaniards, in this treaty, took care to avoid acknowleging the queen of France's right to the places they were obliged to yield, and caused it to be inserted in the treaty, that, for the sake of restoring peace to Europe, and at the intercession of the pope, they had abandoned those places to the French king.

Don Juan obliges father Nitard to quit Spain, and retire to Rome, where he is made a cardinal.

While these black storms thundered on the Spanish monarchy without, it was far from enjoying repose or tranquility at home. It was the precarious state of the Low Countries, and the necessity of providing for their future safety, that the queen caused to be represented in the strongest manner to Don Juan of Austria, to prevail on him to go thither. The more easily to persuade him, he had the clearest assurances given him, that he should reside there with an authority as full as he could desire, carry a large sum of money with him, and receive large and regular supplies, to enable him the better to perform the great things that were expected from him. When Don Juan had accepted these propofals, and was actually at Corunna, with an intention to embark for Flanders, the queen caused Don Joseph de Malladas, a gentleman much in his favour, to be arrested, and put to death by a warrant under her own hand. She is reported to have taken this step upon a supposition that Don Juan was actually embarked; but, he being obliged by accident to remain some days at Barcelona, no sooner received the news of Don Joseph's death, than he quitted that city, and retired to one of his own seats [h]. This retreat gave the queen, and her minister, father Nitard, great anxiety, more especially when they understood that he was surrounded there by persons of great distinction; nor was it long before she received such applications from him, as

[g] Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par M. Le Clerc, Lettres, Memoires, & Negociations, de Monf. le Comte d'Estrades. [h] Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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made it clearly evident, that ſhe had more cauſe to apprehend danger from him than he from her. However, ſome of the grandees, deſirous of compoſing theſe diſputes amicably, repreſented to her majeſty, in the ſofteſt manner poſſible, that the great power of the inquiſitor-general gave univerſal diſtaſte to the nation; that the peace which they at preſent enjoyed was very precarious; that a multitude of abuſes had crept into the adminiſtration; and that, in juſtice to the ſtate, out of regard for her ſon, and from a due reſpect to her own glory, ſhe ought to take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual method for redreſſing theſe miſchiefs, and reſtoring that authority to her adminiſtration, the want of which was become but too apparent. The queen was ſo ill adviſed, that ſhe treated theſe remonſtrances as inſolent and unbecoming, and threatened to make examples of ſuch as ſhould take liberties of this kind for the future. The prince, notwithſtanding this declaration, directed his ſecretary Patinho to deliver a memorial in much ſtronger terms, in which he very plainly intimated, that a reformation was neceſſary, and that it ought to begin with the removal of the eccleſiaſtic, who was looked upon as the principal author of thoſe grievances under which the nation ſuffered. It was eaſy for her to diſcern that the prince would not have ventured upon this ſtep, if he had not looked upon himſelf as ſecure from the effects of her anger; but believing that her power would be ſpeedily unſettled, if ſhe did not treat ſuch an application with ſeverity, ſhe cauſed Patinho to be inſtantly put under arreſt. Don Juan upon this occaſion, advanced from the place of his retirement to within a ſmall diſtance of Madrid, and ſent from thence a ſhort meſſage to the queen, that if, by the 26th of February, the inquiſitor-general did not leave the capital, he would go thither, and oblige him to quit it, in a manner that would not be agreeable to him. The prince had at that time about him no more than three hundred horſe; of which the queen being perfectly well informed, ſhe iſſued her orders for putting the city into a ſtate of defence; and perhaps would have proceeded farther, if ſhe had not found theſe orders diſobeyed; a circumſtance which alarmed father Nitard to ſuch a degree,
A.D. 1669. that he quitted Madrid on the 25th[1]. The queen took care to have him conducted as ſafely as poſſible out of the

[1] Relation de la Sortie d'Eſpagne du P. Everard Nitard, Jeſuite Confeſſeur de la Reine, par le P. Bouhours.

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dominions of Spain, and ſent him to Rome, where ſhe honoured him with the title of ambaſſador, and procured for him a hat from the pope; of which honour he gave notice to Don Juan by a very civil and ſubmiſſive letter, in hopes it might have procured him the means of returning to Spain; but as that prince did not think fit to write him any anſwer, he very prudently laid aſide a project which it appeared impracticable for him to execute. The queen, having conſented to ſuch regulations as were required from her, declared Don Juan lieutenant-general of the kingdom of Arragon, and, in conſequence of his accepting that honour, removed him from court [k].

The conde de Monterey makes a bold and generous attempt in favour of the Dutch.

After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Spaniſh miniſters, by a new ſtrain of policy, attempted to provide for the ſecurity of the Low Countries, by declaring to the maritime powers their inability to make ſuch a proviſion. As ſtrange a meaſure as this was, it had its effect, and the ſtates paid to the king of Sweden that ſubſidy which had been ſtipulated on the part of Spain; and in all probability this method might have been practiſed longer with ſucceſs, if the French intrigues had not prevailed upon the court of England to depart from the principles of the triple alliance [l]. Upon Don Juan's refuſing to go into Flanders, the conſtable of Caſtile was ſent thither; and the marquis de Caſtel Rodrigo, though refuſed a paſſport, went incognito through France into Spain. The conſtable of Caſtile held the government but one year; for the marquis de Aytona dying, the queen recalled him, in order to replace that lord in the council, and ſent into the Low Countries Don Juan Dominic de Haro y Guzman, conde de Monterey, ſecond ſon to the famous Don Lewis de Haro, and younger brother to the marquis del Carpio, who applied himſelf with great vigilance and vigour to the diſcharge of his office. He it was who, when the Dutch were in the loweſt and moſt diſtreſſed condition poſſible, had the honour to contrive, and the courage to execute the ſiege of Charleroy, which, at his inſtance, the prince of Orange inveſted in the abſence of the governor; and would infallibly have taken it, if, through the negligence of ſome of his officers, Mr. Montalt, the governor, had not entered it with ſuccours. If this enterprize had ſuc- A.D. 1672.

[k] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne. [l] Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Memoires & Negociations de M. le Comte d'Eſtrades.

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ceeded, the French must have immediately quitted all their conquests in Holland; but the prince being obliged to raise the siege, the crime of projecting it fell upon the head of the marquis de Monterey, of whom the most Christian king complained loudly at Madrid, where the queen disavowed his conduct, which was all the satisfaction that could be obtained [m].

The courts of Vienna and Madrid reject the offers of Lewis XIV. and close with the States.

The court of Madrid was very far from disapproving in reality what had been done by the count of Monterey, though they were not a little chagrined at the disappointment he had met with, and which some ascribe to count Marsin, who commanded such of their forces as were engaged in the siege. The governor of the Low Countries, therefore, continued his correspondence with the prince of Orange, and converted even his miscarriage into a signal service to the states; for, having taken care thoroughly to explain the consequences of his scheme if it had taken effect, and thereby shewn that there was a probability of delivering the Dutch, as well as a necessity of attempting it, he may be justly considered as the author of that spirit which was afterwards shewn by their neighbours, in assisting and saving that republic, or rather of the instrument of which Providence made use in that critical conjuncture for the protestant religion, and the independency of Europe. If Lewis XIV. had taken the advice of Monsieur Pomponne, the Spaniards would have paid dearly for this act of generosity, since he proposed accepting of the terms offered by the states in the height of their misfortune, in order to turn the whole force of the French monarchy on the Spanish provinces. But the French king depended on a negotiation that had been set on foot to amuse the court of Vienna, which likewise failed; and thereupon both the emperor and Spain renewed their alliances with the states, and declared in their favour against France [n].

A.D. 1673.

Messina in Sicily revolts, which greatly embarrasses the Spanish councils.

The next year was more fertile in events. The old duke of Lorrain, though he had no great obligations to the court of Madrid, acquainted both the Imperial and Spanish ministers with his suspicions that the French would attack the Franche Comté. But they either neglected his intelligence, or what he proposed was out of

[m] Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par Le Clerc, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne, Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. [n] Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. part i. p. 236. Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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their power to execute, consistent with their other schemes; so that this fine country was detached from the Spanish monarchy, and added to that of France, by a short but vigorous campaign [o]. In Flanders the Spanish troops, under the command of the count de Monterey and prince Vaudemont son to the duke of Lorrain, acted in conjunction with the Dutch, who were headed by the prince of Orange, and had their full share in the battle of Seneff, fought on the 11th of August, in which a great part of their infantry was ruined [p]. The duke de St. Germain commanded in Catalonia, and had the year before concerted measures for the revolt of Rousillon, which, though it was prevented by a discovery, yet he carried on the operations of the war with success, gained a considerable advantage over the army of count Schomberg, and would probably have done more, but for the revolt of Messina. A.D. 1674.

That city, which is one of the capitals of Sicily, had for its governor Don Lewis del Hoyo, who fancied that he could not do a greater service to the crown of Spain, than to subvert that form of rule which had subsisted there for many ages. He failed in his attempt; the prince de Ligne, viceroy of Sicily, constrained him to quit the city; and the people, who intended only to maintain their just rights, readily submitted. They discovered afterwards, by an intercepted letter, that the prince had promised the court of Madrid to crush them when they least expected it, and restore the old governor in triumph. This discovery threw things again into confusion; though the old governor was removed, and Don Diego de Soria, marquis de Crispano, sent in his room, they did not think themselves safe, more especially as he caused some of their senators to be arrested; but, having expelled the Spanish garrison, they demanded the protection of France. It was this event that obliged the court of Madrid to order the duke de St. Germain to return into Catalonia, and to embark part of his forces for Sicily, where, notwithstanding they had a superior fleet, under the command of Don Bertrand de Guevara, the French had the good fortune to relieve Messina, a circumstance which encouraged the people to persist in their revolt [q].

[o] Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Neuville, Histoire de Hollande, Basnage.
[p] Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par Le Clerc.
[q] Basnage, Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques.

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A.D.1675. At the opening of the year the count de Monterey was recalled from the government of the Low Countries; and the duke of Villahermosa, who had commanded under him with the title of general of horse, was appointed to succeed him, and directed to receive his instructions. There never was a governor more esteemed or beloved than the count, who reformed many abuses in the administration, took great pains to promote the manufactures of the provinces, and contrived and executed the famous sluices near Ostend, for the benefit of navigation. He was impenetrable to the arts, and, which was more, to the offers, of France, who, notwithstanding, paid so much respect to his merit, that, in the midst of a war, they granted him a passport for his passage by land into Spain [r]. The campaign on the side of Flanders was not very remarkable. In Rousillon the Spaniards were able to do but little; and though count Schomberg commanded the French, they did not do much. In Messina the people again were in danger of perishing through want, but were relieved at the opening of the year by a small French squadron commanded by the marquis de Valavoir, who, notwithstanding, would not land any troops till they had put the principal posts into his hands, and acknowleged themselves subject to the French king. Men will do any thing to eat; and it was this motive that engaged them to submit to these terms, which they had very soon reason to repent, the insolence of their new masters making them forget what they had suffered under the old. In a month's time they were blocked up by the Spanish fleet, and in as great distress as ever; but, on the 9th of February, another French squadron appeared, under the command of the duke de Vivonne and the sieur du Quesne, which entered the port, and relieved the place. The duke assumed the title of viceroy, and plundered the people he should have protected. He was brother to the French king's mistress, madame de Montespan; and, presuming upon her favour, made a bad use of his good fortune, studied every method to enrich himself, and, by his negligence, gave the Spaniards time to secure the places he should have attacked.

The French interfere, and send a strong squadron to the relief of Messina.

On the 9th of November, Charles the Second was declared of age, to the great satisfaction of himself and his subjects. His preceptor, the bishop of Malaga, was his brother by the father's side, though Philip the Fourth

His catholic majesty declared of age, and gives a proof of his great spirit.

[r] Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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would never own him, out of respect to his mother, who was sister to the marquis de Mortara, and whom he married, while she was with child, to the marquis of Quintana. She told her husband the truth, who died of vexation in two months. When her son was of age, she confided the secret to him, who immediately became an ecclesiastic, and the king his father afterwards bestowed upon him that rich bishoprick. He did what lay in his power to give the young monarch just notions suitable to his dignity; whereas the queen laboured all that was possible to prevent his having a turn to any thing but amusements and diversions. It was owing in all probability to the instructions he received from the prelate, that when, a few days after he became of age, the queen presented him an act, declaring, that, on account of his tender years and want of experience he left the government to the queen his mother, and the council who had assisted her during his minority, he refused to sign it, adding, "that he hoped God, who had made him a king, would enable him to become the father of his people." It has been reported, and believed, the great change that soon after appeared in his temper was owing to a certain method of preparing his chocolate; at least the caution given him by the marchioness de los Velez, who had been his governess in his infancy, fortified this opinion, she bidding him beware of one, who, from her fondness of being a queen, might possibly forget that she was a mother*. The manifest imbecility of this prince, in his last years particularly, proved highly detrimental to Spain.

There had been in the winter some negotiations relative to a peace, in consequence of which it was agreed, that a congress should be held at Nimeguen; but, notwithstanding these, both sides made great preparations for the campaign. It is indeed true, the prince of Orange complained that the duke of Villahermosa performed his promises but very indifferently; a circumstance which was certainly fact, but it was owing to his inability. The ministers at Madrid contracted with bankers to remit him a large sum every month, upon the faith of these contracts he made his promises; but as the ministers never advanced any thing to the bankers, they looked upon their contracts as dissolved, and the duke bore all the blame

The French send a new fleet, with a viceroy, into the island of Sicily.

* Memoires Historiques, Politiques, Critiques, & Literaires, par Amelot de la Houssaie, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

with the allies. After all, the campaign was not very glorious or very unfortunate; the French king commanded in perſon, and avoided fighting the prince of Orange at Valenciennes, which circumſtance the allies conſidered as a kind of victory. On the ſide of Rouſſillon, the Spaniards acted on the defenſive under the duke de St. Germain; the French had a good army under the marſhal de Navailles; but he did nothing in effect; and though the Spaniards were too weak to keep the field, yet their miquelets harraſſed the French army till they abandoned ſome ſmall places they had taken, and went into winter-quarters[t]. The ſending a French viceroy into Sicily ſo alarmed the court of Madrid, that they demanded from the ſtates a fleet for the protection of that iſland; which was accordingly ſent under the command of admiral de Ruyter, one of the greateſt ſeamen ever bred in that nation, or in any other. He cruiſed in the ſtreights of Meſſina in the beginning of the year, to prevent the French from throwing in any ſuccours.

Admiral Ruyter is killed in a ſea fight againſt the French, on the coaſts of that iſle.

On the 7th of January, du Queſne appeared with the French fleet. Admiral de Ruyter had, beſides his own, the whole naval force of Spain in thoſe ſeas, which conſiſted in a ſingle ſhip of war and a ſmall ſquadron of gallies: the latter, on account of the foul weather, were obliged to put into port. Du Queſne attacked with great ſpirit, for, like de Ruyter, he had made his way to the firſt honours by mere dint of merit, and meant to keep them by purſuing the ſame track. The Dutch admiral ſaid in his letter, that he had never been in a battle ſo obſtinately fought. It laſted till night with equal advantage; for though de Ruyter ſunk a French man of war, yet one of his own met with the ſame misfortune as they were towing her away; but the French carried their point, and victualled Meſſina[u]. When the ſix months, for which the Dutch fleet had been ſent into the Mediterranean, were expired, de Ruyter returned to Leghorn; but, finding his maſter's orders to give the Spaniards all the aſſiſtance in his power, he ſailed again for their ſervice to the coaſts of Sicily, and, to facilitate their operations by land, appeared before Meſſina. The duke de Vi-

t Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Actes & Memoires de la Paix de Nimegue, Edit. de la Haye, 1697. Hiſtoire des Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue. la Haye, 1697.
u Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Baſnage, Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques.

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vonne, whose fleet was now augmented to fifty sail; by the advice of du Quesne, resolved to quit the port, and to give him battle. It began about three in the afternoon, on the 22d of April, and was fought with great courage and spirit, notwithstanding admiral de Ruyter, in half an hour after it began, was wounded in both legs. This engagement did not end till between seven and eight, and then both sides claimed the victory as before, though the advantage seemed rather on the side of the enemy. The Dutch and Spanish fleet went to Syracuse for refreshments, where, on the 29th of the same month, de Ruyter breathed his last, having been honoured with the order of St. Michael from the French king, and the title of duke by his catholic majesty, which he did not live to enjoy[w].

The Spanish and Dutch fleets beaten, sunk, and burnt, by the French.

The Dutch vice-admiral Van Haan took the command, and sailed from Syracuse to Palermo, where, while he was busy in repairing his ships, and recruiting their respective crews, the duke de Vivonne arrived, with twenty-eight men of war, nine fireships, and twenty-five gallies, before the port; upon which the combined fleets of Spain and Holland formed in a half-moon at the entrance of the harbour; in which situation, after reconnoitring them for three or four days, the French attacked them on the 2d of June. The combined fleet fought with great spirit, till the Spanish vice-admiral cut out of the line, and ran ashore, to avoid being burnt by a fireship. The French improved this advantage, and, having the wind in their favour, sent their fireships down upon the Spanish line, A D. 1676. by which it was broke. The admiral cleared himself of two, but was burnt by the third, together with three men of war and two gallies that came to his assistance; the rest to avoid the same fate, ran ashore. The enemy fell next upon the Dutch, and set one of their largest men of war on fire; the flames communicated themselves to two others; upon which, after destroying their own fireships, the rest retired into port, and took the best measures they could for their own security. In this unfortunate action the Spanish admiral Iberra and the Dutch admiral Cornelius Van Haan were both killed, with a great number of officers, soldiers, and seamen. To increase this misfortune, one of the ships that blew up fell directly into the streets of Palermo, where, by the great

[w] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Vita Michaelis Ruyter, per Gerard Brand, Amstelod. 1684.

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beams and iron-work, many people were killed[x]. This victory raised the spirits of the Messinese, and threw the whole island of Sicily into the utmost consternation, which might have made way for a general conquest, if it had been improved.

Queen mother of Spain entertains a new favourite, and raises him to great posts.

We must now turn our eyes upon the interior state of affairs in the Spanish monarchy, where the queen, soon after father Nitard was torn from her councils, produced a new favourite on the stage, to whom she was still more beneficent, and who of consequence was quickly loaded with a still greater proportion of public hatred. It has been insinuated, that, if the conde de Monterey had not been wanting to himself, he might have been both minister and favourite; but he having declined some advances that were made him, Don Hernando de Valenzuela made a more rapid progress than any favourite that had been yet seen, since, in the space of a few years, he rose, from being a page to a nobleman, not only to high offices and great appointments, but to the rank of a grandee of Spain of the first class. He was beautiful, brave, enterprising, generous, but without the knowlege or experience requisite to a man whom his own good fortune, and the inclinations of the queen his mistress, brought to manage the affairs of a great kingdom. He took, however, some precautions for the preservation of his power, which were certainly very well imagined. He adhered with the utmost fidelity to the queen who raised him. He laboured to gain the good-will of the people, by keeping Madrid constantly supplied with provisions at very reasonable prices: he took care to divert them with spectacles of different kinds, of which there are no people in Europe more fond; and he was at pains to have the king, in a manner besieged by his creatures. He did not certainly take any measures for restoring the reputation or the affairs of the Spanish monarchy; he did not attempt to reduce their finances into a right method; he did not apply himself to study the interests of the monarchy with an assiduity requisite to enable him to make a right use of his almost absolute power. But these were things in reality out of his way and out of his reach; whatever within the circle of his capacity he did; and he would not have hindered those whose duty it was, and who were well

A.D. 1677.

[x] Basnage, Annales des Provinces Unies, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. Neuville, Histoire de Hollande.

enough

enough qualified, from doing more. His great foible was his vanity, which led him to make a display of what his interest and his duty might have taught him to conceal; this gave a colour to popular clamour, and an air of patriotism to the cabals formed against him by the grandees, though, after all, he suffered as much for other people's faults as his own [y].

Don Juan of Austria comes to the assistance of the king, and banishes the queen-dowager.

Don Juan, who governed Arragon with an authority much superior to that of its ancient kings, derived that authority from himself, that is, from his own conduct. He added to the Spanish regularity, in every thing he did, that spirit which at first gave it reverence. Modest and simple in his dress and in his court, he made the great object of his administration the good of the people. He found the constitution of Arragon well suited to this disposition, and, by keeping to the letter of that constitution, he taught the people, by his veneration for the laws, to obey them without murmuring. He was inflexible in the execution of justice; but, where he found any opportunity, he never failed to manifest his compassion. This raised his character, and countenanced the grandees at Madrid in their endeavours to place him at the head of the government. He had brought the affairs of Arragon into order, and the want of it was visible every-where else. The duke of Alba and the count of Monterey were the principal persons amongst the nobility who interested themselves in this respect; the former was much esteemed, and had a great influence; the latter had a generous heart, joined to as cool a head as any in Spain. After milder methods had been tried to no purpose, an association was formed, and signed by the grandees, who concurred in sentiment with the duke of Alba, at his house; but the great point of all was, to engage the king to add the sanction of his name, that, for doing the loyalest action in the world, they might not be either reputed or treated as rebels. Don Carlos came readily into the project as soon as it was proposed to him; his parts were not so lively as they had been, yet he still remembered he was a king, and desired to be considered in that light by his subjects. He took a resolution, therefore, of leaving his palace at Madrid, and going to the Pardo; and though he was forced to walk part of the way on foot, he performed it without complaining. There he met with Don Juan, who gave him a very succinct and true account of

[y] Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

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the state of his dominions, the distress of his subjects, and the methods by which they might be relieved. In consequence of his advice, and with the concurrence of the council, the queen-mother was removed to Toledo, which she considered as a kind of banishment. Don Hernando Valenzuela, who had taken shelter in the convent of the Escurial, was at length found there, concealed in a nich made for that purpose, in a cell of one of the monks, transferred to a prison, degraded from all his honours, and sent to the Philippines. He behaved with great spirit under his misfortunes; and, after remaining years, sometimes in the East, sometimes in the West Indies, was at length suffered to return to Spain. This great revolution happened in the spring, when Don Juan received, from the unanimous voice of the nobility and people, the title of protector and preserver of his country [*]. They changed their sentiments soon after, and would have called him the betrayer of it, if they durst.

Campaign in Flanders attended only with disappointments and disasters.

The negotiations were carried on all this time at Nimeguen, where it appeared to be evidently the design of the French to let all the losses fall upon Spain. It must be indeed owned, that the Dutch had hitherto borne in a great measure the charge of the war, which, though grievous to them, was however but just, since the Spaniards came into it for their preservation. Besides, it had been carried on chiefly for their benefit, so that at this time they had recovered the best part of their country, and most of their fortresses except Maestricht. In point, therefore, of justice and decency, they were content to make this campaign, that their allies might have some opportunity of repairing their losses, or at least of making better terms; of which there appeared such a probability, that they rejected the cessation of arms proposed by Lewis XIV. from a belief that Charles the Fifth, who had succeeded his uncle of the same name in Lorrain, and was at the head of the emperor's armies, would be able to enter into his own dominions, and, by the assistance of the allies, into France itself. They had the misfortune, however, to be disappointed in their expectations. The French king very unexpectedly took the field on the last of February, opened the trenches against Valenciennes on the 10th of March, and carried it very unexpectedly by storm on the 17th, not without great suspicions of trea-

[*] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne.

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chery. The town and citadel of Cambray were reduced in less than a fortnight; at the same time that the duke of Orleans lay before St. Omer's, the prince of Orange hazarded a battle at Cassel for its relief, in which he was defeated by that duke, assisted by marshal Luxemburgh, on the 11th of April [a]. After this action, at the pressing instances of the Spaniards, he once more formed the siege of Charleroi, which he raised on the 13th of August, upon the approach of marshal Luxemburgh, and declined fighting the French army, upon which the duke of Villahermosa warmly insisted. When the campaign seemed to be at an end, the French besieged and took St. Guilain, in the beginning of December. In Catalonia Don Juan of Austria furnished the count de Monterey with a superior army, by ordering all the troops to join him that were intended to be transported to Sicily, judging very rightly, that the licence with which the French troops lived in that island would inspire its inhabitants with courage enough to drive them out. The marshal duke de Navailles commanded for the French, and, their historians say, did wonders. It is certain that he acted upon the offensive at the beginning of the campaign; that, upon the approach of the count de Monterey, he retired towards Roussillon, through a rough and mountainous country, followed by the Spaniards, who fought him on the 4th of July, when both sides claimed the victory; but that it belonged rather to the Spaniards may be presumed from hence, that the French, according to their own accounts, decamped at midnight, and retired into their own territories. It must be owned, that the campaign did not answer the expectations of Don Juan, who looked coldly upon the count de Monterey, though some say this coldness was rather owing to his having too great an interest in the affections of the young king [b].

The proceedings at Nimeguen went on very slowly, the Spaniards presuming on that honour and generosity which they had shewn in coming into the war, insisted upon as good terms as if they had been victorious throughout the

The next entirely of the same complexion both there and in Catalonia.

[a] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas, par Le Clerc, Basnage, Annales des Provinces Unies, Lettres Historiques de Monf. Pelisson, Memoires du Marquis de Feuquieres, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. [b] Memoires de Navailles, Basnage, Annales des Provinces Unies, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Memoir la Cour d'Espagne.

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course of it. The Dutch gave the Spaniards good words and good advice, but endeavoured to soften them as far as was in their power. The prince of Orange, indeed, who was for carrying on the war, spoke another kind of language, still less acceptable to the Spaniards; he inveighed against their want of punctuality, their dilatoriness and imbecility, which, after all, was owing to the perplexed state of their affairs, and to their indigence, which they were at once too proud to confess, and too lazy to amend. The French king took advantage of these favourable circumstances for accomplishing his designs. In the very beginning of March he invested and reduced Ghent, and soon after invested Ypres, at the siege of which he assisted in person. The Spanish garrison was commanded by the marquis of Conflans, who made a gallant defence, and did not render the place till after twenty-five days open trenches[c]. The French next blocked up Mons, a measure which had its effect, as we shall see in its proper place. The marshal duke de Navailles being considerably reinforced in Roussillon, after menacing Roses in Catalonia, suddenly invested and besieged Puicerda, which was very gallantly defended. The count de Monterey assembled his forces, and took such measures as he thought most expedient for its relief; but, whether he wanted strength, or was in reality inferior in military skill to the French marshal, who was indeed considered as one of the best officers of that age, so it fell out, that his design miscarried, and Puicerda was lost. This event ruined the count with Don Juan of Austria, who caused him to be exiled, though he had been one of the principal persons who had opened a passage to his return from Arragon; and though, for this reason, Don Juan has been accused of ingratitude, yet it will hereafter appear, that his treatment of this nobleman could not proceed from so base a principle.

A.D.1678.

French fleet and forces abandon Messina, and the court takes no care of them in the peace.

What Don Juan had foreseen, with respect to the island of Sicily, came exactly to pass. The duke de Vivonne suffered his soldiers to live in a manner at discretion, and was at the same time very rapacious; this conduct created heart-burnings and complaints, which, instead of procuring redress, produced confiscations. The Sicilians in general came to have an utter abhorrence for the French. The English being on the point of joining with the Dutch, in sending a strong maritime force to the

[c] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

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assistance of the Spaniards, Lewis XIV. took a quick resolution of withdrawing his forces from that island, and sent monsieur de la Feuillade, with a strong squadron in the spring, to put that design in execution. The duke de Vivonne, who had previous intelligence of this step, managed every thing with such address and circumspection, as made it plainly appear, that the innumerable errors of his government were not at all owing to want of capacity. He gave out that he had a secret expedition of the utmost importance in view, which would require the whole force under his command; and carried his dissimulation so far, that public prayers were addressed to heaven for the success of what was never intended. Thus, after insulting and abusing both God and man, the French troops and the treasures they had plundered were embarked on board monsieur de la Feuillade's squadron, on the 8th of April, and then, and not till then, the Messinese were informed, that they were to be deserted. In the consternation they were under at this unexpected news, the only expedient of which they could think, was to quit their country, and four or five hundred of them actually retired into France; but the bulk of the inhabitants were abandoned, not only by the French fleet and army, but by the ministers of France also, in the negotiations at Nimeguen, to the resentment of the court of Madrid; and not a few of them paid with their lives for having been weak enough to place any confidence in a power that acted only from motives of self-interest and ambition [d].

After much negotiation, and with no small difficulty, the treaty at Nimeguen is concluded.

The great object of the French negotiations was, to detach the republic of the United Provinces from her allies, in which they at length succeeded, notwithstanding all the opposition that could be given to this measure by the prince of Orange. The states, indeed, had two things to plead, which were, the excessive expences of the war; and that Maestricht, which was the only place France held out of all her conquests, was to be restored. The French, by one of their great refinements in policy, were very near losing this peace, when there was nothing left towards its conclusion but the bare form of signing. They had promised the Dutch to restore certain places to Spain, without taking any notice of the time when this restitution was to be made; and, being pressed upon this head, the

[d] Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Quincy, Basnage, Histoire generale d'Espagne.

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plenipotentiaries acknowleged it was the king's intention not to proceed to these restitutions till the like were made to Sweden, which, in this war, had suffered as much for being the ally of France, as Spain for her attachment to the states. But the Dutch acted with great steadiness in this particular, fixing a day, by which if the French did not depart from this pretension, they would look upon their engagements as void. When the day came, the French acquiesced, and the treaty was signed on the 10th of August. The prince of Orange, notwithstanding, attacked the French army before Mons four days after; which circumstance, however, did not prevent both parties from adhering to the treaty. This put the Spaniards under the necessity of accepting the terms prescribed to them; and the treaty was accordingly subscribed between France and Spain, by the plenipotentiaries from the respective crowns, on the 17th of September following, at Nimeguen. The places restored to Spain by this peace were Charleroy, Binsch, Ath, Oudenard, Courtray and its dependencies, the town and duchy of Limbourg, Gand, the fort of Rodenhius, the country of Waes, Lewe, and St. Guilain, their fortifications being first razed. Puicerda in Catalonia was also restored. France retained the Franche Comté entire, the towns of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Conde, Cambray and its dependencies, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres and its chatellenie, Warwick, Warneton, Poperinghen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bavai, Maubeuge, Charlemont or Dinant. The public tranquility was far from being restored by the conclusion of this peace; for the French had so many new pretensions, and the Spanish ministers flattered themselves with such hopes of being assisted by both the maritime powers, that it was not till towards the end of the year that the ratification of Spain arrived [e], and was exchanged.

Don Juan of Austria concludes a marriage for his catholic majesty with the princess Maria Louisa of Orleans.

The revolution that happened in their domestic government had filled the Spanish nation with hopes that they should see all their grievances redressed, and the reputation of the crown speedily revived. This reformation without question, was what Don Juan had in view; but, considering with himself the instability of his own situation, and the odious colours that might be thrown on the manner in which he assumed the administration, in

[e] Memoires & Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, Histoire des Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. part i. p. 365.

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eaſe of any new change, he reſolved on eſtabliſhing, by a judicial inquiry, the certainty of thoſe facts which had been alleged as the cauſes for the diſgrace of the queen-mother, which, though at this time it was allowed juſt and requiſite, yet it was afterwards treated as a needleſs act of ſeverity, ſerving only to bring to light things that had better have been concealed. The queen, during her adminiſtration, had not only negotiated, but concluded, a treaty of marriage for the king her ſon, with the archduchess Maria Antonietta, daughter to the emperor Leopold, though a perfect infant, and had even gone ſo far as to notify this match to the States General; notwithſtanding which, that contract was laid aſide, and in compliance, as it is ſaid, with the king's own inclinations, who was exceedingly charmed with the picture of the duke of Orlean's daughter. Don Juan ſent the marquis de los Balbazez into France, to demand that princeſs, who had his audience for that purpoſe of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty on the 10th of May, and every thing was ſettled and concluded by the 2d of July. As Maria Louiſa of Orleans ſtood equally related to Lewis XIV. and Charles II. of England, this match was highly applauded, and Don Juan received great compliments thereupon; and yet this marriage was improved by the enemies of Don Juan into the cauſe of his diſgrace, which broke his heart before the arrival of the young queen, who ſtood indebted to him for that pompous, though, in its conſequences, no very pleaſing title [f]. A.D. 1679.

The Spaniſh courtiers, by their arts, turn this very meaſure to his prejudice.

The young king ſeemed to be ſo much ſatisfied with his marriage, that ſuch as were attached to the queen-mother, ſuch as had grounds to apprehend the reſult of Don Juan's inquiries, ſuch as thought themſelves neglected ſince the commencement of his adminiſtration, ſuch as had felt the effects of his diſpleaſure, and ſuch as had a faculty of intriguing, concurred in the inſinuations, that though he certainly propoſed, yet he ſecretly laboured to prevent, this marriage. They gave out, that, even in propoſing it, he had chiefly in view the croſſing the queen's deſigns of marrying the king into her own family; that he had privately negotiated at Liſbon for the young princeſs, who was like to be the heir of that crown; and that

[f] Memoires de Madame Montpenſier, Corps Univerſel Diplomatique, tom. vii. part. i. p. 417. Hiſtoire des Negociations de la Paix de Nimegue, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne.

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the miniſter he had ſent into France did not proceed with a vivacity ſuitable to the king's deſires. Theſe ſuggeſtions had made ſome impreſſion upon the king's mind, when Don Juan, unfortunately for himſelf, but ſtrictly from a noble and generous motive, repreſented to the council, that, ſince the king was to marry a niece and not a daughter, of France, this occaſion might be taken to engage that crown to make ſome conceſſions in favour of Spain, or at leaſt to put a ſtop to thoſe proceedings in the Low Countries, by which the ſubjects of that crown felt almoſt all the miſeries of war in the midſt of peace. The council, to make their court to the king, rejected this propoſition, though very prudent in itſelf, and which might have been productive of very good effects. The king was pleaſed with their conduct, and ſhewed a viſible coldneſs towards Don Juan; upon which ſignal, many, who had the greateſt obligations to him, abandoned his party, and, amongſt the reſt, the king's confeſſor, who owed that poſt entirely to Don Juan's favour. In the midſt of theſe intrigues, he was ſeized with an ague, and, while he was indiſpoſed, things proceeded ſo far, that he ſaw his diſgrace inevitable. He had conferred upon the count de Monterey, of his own accord, one of the beſt employments in the new queen's houſhold; a certain proof, that, with reſpect to this nobleman, he was not implacable; but this diſpoſition did not hinder his being chagrined when he found the count recalled from exile without his conſent.

Don Juan falls ſick, and, after languiſhing ſome time, dies of a broken heart.

A multitude of other accidents of the ſame kind, threw him into a mortal diſeaſe, which emaciated him to ſuch a degree, that his phyſicians, who could never tell what to make of his diſeaſe, deſpaired of his recovery. The king's tenderneſs revived when it was too late; he viſited him, wept at the ſight of his condition, complaining, that, now he had the moſt need of his advice, he was about to loſe him. Don Juan did not appear much affected with theſe marks of royal compaſſion. He took that opportunity to enter into a full detail of the ſtate of public affairs, to let the king ſee in how perplexed, as well as in how declining a condition they ſtood; to point out to him the true ſources from which all theſe miſchiefs flowed, and the ſole remedies that could prove effectual. He preſſed him to make a proper choice of a council, and to apply himſelf, by the help of their advice, to adminiſter the concerns of his kingdom. He exhorted him to remember always his duty to God and his people, and to beware of liſtening

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listening to flatterers and favourites; and, with many wishes for his long life, prosperity, and issue by his queen, took leave of him for ever. On the 17th of September he expired, and, by his will, bequeathed all his estate, which was but very small, to the king; his jewels, which were more considerable, to be equally divided between the two queens [s]. Calumny, loud even in his last moments, became dumb at his decease. The vulgar were convinced of his disinterestedness; and the whole nation confessed, that, in him, the abilities and virtues of the house of Austria made their last efforts. He left behind him a natural daughter, who was a nun. He was scarce interred before the king went to Toledo, to bring back the queen-mother to triumph over his ashes, and to persecute with unrelenting hatred all who had manifested their zeal for their country, by adhering to a prince who had nothing else at heart.

The king went to meet his new queen, and consummated his marriage, by a strange indecorum, in one of the poorest villages in Old Castile, from whence he conducted her to Burgos, and, in the month of February, made a pompous entry into Madrid. The vast expences that attended this marriage added to those evils with which Spain was already oppressed. There was for a long time no administration at all; but such business as could not be delayed, the king dispatched with the secretary of state, a young man, without either parts or experience, who, by assiduity and cunning, had supplanted his master, and, by the practice of the same noble arts, kept the king from fixing for a long time upon any minister; nor was he determined in his choice at last, but by the constable of Castile's generously declaring in favour of his competitor for that high post, the duke de Medina Coeli, who was a nobleman of gentle disposition, and very much beloved. The young queen found herself under great restraint, and, from a very different education, found the Spanish customs very uneasy and troublesome. The queen-mother lost her power by degrees, in endeavouring to extend it. The prince de Harcourt, who accompanied the queen from France, and the marquis de Villars, who was ambassador from that crown, were disagreeable to Charles. They looked narrowly into every thing; they entered into con-

A.D. 1680.

His death has an extreme bad effect on public affairs, which fall into confusion.

[s] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Memoires Historiques, Politiques, Critiques, & Literaires, par Amelot de la Houssaie.

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ferences and connections with the grandees; the latter more especially took a pleasure in delivering his master's haughty messages in a manner that rendered them still more distasteful. The accounts they gave from time to time of the distracted state of things at Madrid, where one untoward accident was continually following another, induced Lewis XIV. to form various pretensions, as if he had delighted in trespassing upon the catholic king's patience, or rather insulting his circumstances. He obliged him to lay aside the title of duke of Burgundy, to part with many villages upon the frontiers of Roussillon, as well as in the Low Countries, to give orders for his ships striking the flag to those of France, and to give him distinguished satisfactions for disputes between their subjects, in which sometimes right was on his side, though they were almost always unworthy of notice. Such is the situation of a king, whose splendor appears only in his titles; and such the repeated reasons by which Charles was taught, that the monarch, who cannot make war, can as little enjoy peace; of which truth he was at length so convinced, that he told his queen, he should be glad of a war to be rid of M. de Villars[h].

A succinct detail of their domestic miseries and misfortunes.

In making choice of the duke of Medina Cœli for prime minister, the king satisfied the court and the nation, as well as himself; but it was for a very small time, after which the clamour revived, and became even louder than ever. This did not proceed from any thing the duke had done, but from his doing nothing. He was indeed qualified to be the king's favourite, but not his minister; his capacity was good, his intention was better; but there were so many evils to be redressed, so many things to be provided for, and such an entire deficiency of funds, that, like one amazed, not knowing what road to take, he stood quite still. At length he ventured upon the worst measure he could take, regulating the copper coin, which he reduced from its nominal to its real value, and thereby confounded every thing, since there were no less than fifteen millions of this coin in Spain. By this error two mischiefs were brought to meet that before were scarce seen together, for money was scarce, and yet provisions were dear. To correct this evil, the copper money was called in, and the king promised to pay its value in six months;

[h] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Mercure Hollandois, sous l'an. 1680. Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire generale d'Espagne

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which promiſe, as it was known he could not perform, it ſerved only to make things worſe. In the mean time foreigners made an advantage of this misfortune in many different ways, more eſpecially when great families came at laſt to coin or ſell their plate. The miſery of the court was ſo great, that many of the king's menial ſervants left the palace for want of ſubſiſtence; and the king, with the advice of his council, was not able to find money for the annual journey to Aranjuez, though that is but ſeven leagues from Madrid [1]. The navy ſunk to nothing, the funds deſtined for its ſupport being diverted by thoſe whoſe duty it was to apply them. The ſoldiers deſerted on the frontiers, for want of pay; and at laſt the governors quitted their fortreſſes, to come and repreſent at Madrid in perſon what they had often repreſented by letters to little or no purpoſe.

As to the ſettled revenue of the crown, it was anticipated for ſeveral years, and, which was much worſe, the collection remained in the officers of the crown, who did not bring in above one tenth of what they levied upon the people into the king's coffers, or, what ſtood in their place, the pockets of the aſſientiſts, ſo that the anticipation of all was made upon a very ſmall part. Another ſingularity was, that many, if not moſt, of theſe aſſientiſts, were Jews, who, for the ſake of their valuable talents in the management of the finances, were overlooked by the inquiſition, except now and then, when, having made too great a diſplay of their wealth, they were ſqueezed a little; and therefore, not being able to enjoy their riches here, they ſent them into other countries, and followed them at a proper time into places of greater freedom. The detached provinces of the Spaniſh empire were not leſs expoſed than the ſeat of its government. Thoſe ſent to rule them had chiefly in view the repairing their own fortunes, and, for this purpoſe, they made no ſcruple of multiplying thoſe miſchiefs, of which, at their arrival, they found too many; neighbouring potentates took their advantages likewiſe, and ſtood as little in fear of the log as they had formerly been afraid of the ſtork; hence it was that every court inſulted that of Spain. France made incroachments in Biſcay, in Rouſſillon, in the Low Countries. The elector of Brandenburgh, finding it impoſſible to recover by negotiation the ſubſidies that were due to him, withdrew his miniſter from Ma-

A.D. 1681. *Become deſpicable in the ſight of allies, and of all foreign nations.*

[1] Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne.

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drid, hired a small squadron of privateers, and took a Spanish vessel with a large sum on board, on the coast of the Low Countries. As the court of Madrid was too proud to enter into any liquidation of his demands till the ship was previously restored, he kept all, though he would have been content with what was his due [k]. The Spanish governor of Buenos Ayres having dispossessed the Portuguese of a place they had seized, without any better title than convenience, the prince regent of Portugal took this measure up in such high terms, that though Spain insisted first upon her right, and her possession of one hundred and forty years, which she justified by a manifesto, yet in a month's time she negotiated this right way, and not only gave up the island in question, but confessed that she had no title to it.

The violences committed by the crown of France, contrary to the peace of Nimeguen.

The king of Spain reposed himself on his minister, and the several councils to which his predecessors had assigned the cognisance of different affairs; so that the appearance of government remained, though the spirit was almost extinguished. The duke de Medina Coeli was advised to establish a select council, with whom he might confer upon extraordinary occasions; but he apprehended, that, in so doing, his power would devolve upon that junta. He was at last forced to take this step, which had no considerable effect. There were, however, in Spain, men of parts and capacity, and particularly the two sons of Don Lewis de Haro, the marquis de Lich, who had made the treaty with Portugal, and the count de Monterey, who has been so often mentioned; but the former was sent ambassador to Rome, and kept there against his will; the latter was hated by the queen-mother, always suspected, sometimes in disgrace. They were hated for their superior parts; and those who had the king's ear knew so well that a general reform would follow their coming into power, that, for their own sakes, they kept them at a distance. The duke of Villahermosa had been admitted into the council, upon his return from the Low Countries, where he was succeeded by the prince of Parma, who could not prevent the county of Chinei from being seized by France; which having violated the peace on this side, from the same principle of ambition, put a garrison into Casal, to bridle Italy [l]. Next year the French king

A.D. 1682.

[k] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne. [l] Quincy, Histoire

king demanded the county of Aloſt, becauſe it had been once in his poſſeſſion, and he had never renounced it expreſly, though at the treaty of Nimeguen it was reſtored to Spain. As this ſacrifice was not eaſily made, Luxemburgh was blocked up. The ſole reſource of the court of Madrid was, to demand the aſſiſtance of her allies; but the emperor was engaged in a war with the Turks, the republic of Holland wanted the power, and the king of Great Britain was not in a condition to undertake the protection of the Auſtrian Netherlands, though his intereſt was deeply concerned in their ſafety. The government of them was at length confided to the marquis de Grana, a man of abilities and ſpirit, very capable of defending them, if the means had been in his power. The death of the queen of France, his catholic majeſty's ſiſter, was an additional misfortune, known and felt at Madrid, and, like other misfortunes, was eſteemed without remedy [m]. Such was the ſituation of a power, which, in the memory of ſome then living, had given law to all Europe. A.D. 1683.

At this critical conjuncture the duke de Medina Cœli reſigned his poſt of prime miniſter, that he might be free from that clamour which he found it impoſſible to remove by any other means. But this reſignation had no viſible effect upon public affairs, which went on ſtill in the ſame way. The French king, under pretence of obtaining an equivalent for the county of Aloſt, beſieged and took Courtray and Dixmude. The marquis de Grana, in order to puſh the allies of Spain to unite on the ſide of juſtice, and in her favour, declared war, and the prince of Orange did all that was in his power to engage the ſtates to take the ſide of the injured at all events. But their tenderneſs for their own concerns, and their apprehenſions of the vaſt power of an ambitious prince, who had no law but his will, reſtrained them: the project of the marquis, therefore, in this reſpect, became vain. But, however, it ſet the arrogance of Lewis XIV. and his contempt of treaties, in their juſt light, and convinced all the powers in Europe, that all hopes of ſafety were vain, till this exorbitant power ſhould be humbled. It is however true, that, notwith- *By which, though unable to make, the Spaniards are provoked to declare, war.*

toire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne. Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Corps Univerſel Diplomatique, du Droit des Gens.

[m] Reincourt, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Larrey, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Limiers, Hiſtoire du Regne de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

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ſtanding this declaration of war, and the weakneſs of the Spaniards, France did not puſh her conqueſts in the Low Countries as ſhe might have done. This conduct did not ariſe from any moderation, but was founded on an apprehenſion of provoking the Dutch, by the approach of danger, to take that ſtep, which, from a principle of equity, they had declined. Marſhal Crequi was ſent in the very depth of winter to bombard Luxemburgh; which he did with great fury, but without exciting, as was expected, any ſedition in the place [n]. The princes and ſtates of the empire ſaw the conſequence of theſe hoſtilities clearly, but want of unanimity checked their reſentment.

Which ends in a truce for twenty years, which they are compelled to make on bad terms.

The French beginning to aſſemble an army on the frontiers, the duke de Bournonville was ſent in haſte to Catalonia, and, while he was viſiting the places, and aſſembling the troops, the French very unexpectedly penetrated into Navarre, where, except plundering ſome places of ſmall importance, and ſpreading rumours, calculated to increaſe the diſcontents of the people, they did nothing worth mentioning. This inaction gave the duke de Bournonville time to draw together what forces there were in Catalonia; ſo that when the French general, the marſhal de Bellefoins, came to penetrate into that country by Rouſſillon, he found him very well poſted, in order to diſpute his paſſage. But the marſhal, being ſuperior in all reſpects, attacked and forced the duke at Ponte Mayor, on the 12th of May, and thereby opened a paſſage to Gironne. The duke, however, threw into that place the beſt part of his infantry; ſo that when the marſhal came to form the ſiege, he met with a much more obſtinate reſiſtance than he expected; however, having taken ſome outworks, and made a breach in the body of the place, he attempted it by aſſault, in which the French troops were not only repulſed, but purſued to their camp with ſuch vigour, that the marſhal was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire towards the ſea coaſt, where, by the aſſiſtance of the French fleet, he made himſelf maſter of Palamos, and ſome other little places [o]. On the ſide of the Low Countries, the war was ſuſpended, the French king having declared to the States General what at that time he was diſpoſed to

[n] Reincourt, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Larrey, Quincy, Mercure Hollandois, ſous l'An. 1683. Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Limiers, Hiſtoire du Regne de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Hiſtoire Generale d'Eſpagne.
[o] Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Mercure Hollandois, ſous l'An. 1684. Reincourt, Larrey.

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take from Spain; upon which ceſſion he was willing to reſtore what he had already taken, and ſuſpend his farther demands for twenty years; adding, that if, in fourteen days after the taking Luxemburgh, which was beſieged by marſhal Crequi, they did not prevail upon his catholic majeſty to accept his propoſals, he would take ſuch meaſures as the ſuperiority of his power ſhould enable him to do. The fortreſs of Luxemburgh, which had been inveſted in the beginning of May, held out till the 4th of June; and then the Spaniards, being convinced they had no aſſiſtance to hope, ſubmitted to put their affairs into the hands of their friends. The truce of Ratiſbon was A.D. 1684. ſubſcribed on their behalf on the 10th of Auguſt, by which they abandoned Luxemburgh, and recovered Courtray and Dixmude, together with a great number of villages that had been taken from them ſince the treaty of Nimeguen. As this was a meaſure equally repugnant to the intereſts and honour of Spain, the ratification came but ſlowly from Madrid; ſo that, when it arrived, the French demanded upwards of ten millions of livres for contributions, but upon the interpoſition of the king of Great Britain, condeſcended to accept four millions, which was all that the people had in the world, and, which is ſtill more extraordinary, cauſed a medal to be ſtruck, to perpetuate the memory of this wonderful act of condeſcenſion [P].

This conſtrains his Catholic majeſty to begin a reformation in affairs at home;

At Madrid the king began to apply himſelf with more ſteadineſs than uſual to the conduct of public affairs, and ſhewed ſuch a ſenſibility of the ſtate in which he found the generality of his ſubjects, as very ſpeedily produced many ſalutary regulations, which had an extreme good effect; but which would have been much more effectual, if they had been begun earlier, or if they had been conducted with greater judgment. Through his endeavour to correct luxury, many foreign commodities and manufactures were prohibited, and, for example-ſake, ſome ſeized and burnt, a circumſtance which diſobliged the Dutch, a thing by no means ſeaſonable. In order to eaſe the people, ſome heavy taxes were aboliſhed; but as the income ariſing from thoſe taxes were mortgaged, it raiſed a clamour amongſt

[P] Buſſi, Hiſtoire de Louis le Grand, Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Quincy, & al. ubi ſupra. Limiers, Memoires du Marq. Feuquieres, Corps Univerſel Diplomat. du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. par. ii. p. 79. Hiſt. de la Vie & du Regne de Louis XIV. par M. Bruzen de la Martiniere, tom. iv. p. 291.

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the aſſientiſts, or public creditors, who were not thoſe artful and cunning perſons who had raiſed fortunes to themſelves from the neceſſities of the government, but honeſt people, who had purchaſed thoſe ſecurities at a high rate, and were now deprived of their ſubſiſtence. The king, therefore, cauſed a new fund to be ſettled, without reviving the old taxes, for the payment of their intereſt; but as it aroſe from ſuppreſſing penſions, the clamour was only varied; and as this regulation was aſcribed to the count de Oropeſa, the king's favourite, who, by the way, was of the houſe of Braganza, and the next heir male to the crown of Portugal, it drew upon him a degree of hatred that made him very uneaſy. In the mean time the marquis de Grana died at Bruſſels, and the government of the Low Countries per interim devolved on Don Franciſco Antonio de Agurto, marquis de Gaſtanaga. Some other changes were made, and the Imperial miniſter had now a greater influence than ever at the court of Madrid [q]; which was exceedingly ſerviceable to the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria, and accidentally to thoſe of Europe.

and to concert meaſures for circumſcribing the power of France, with other ſtates.

It has been obſerved, that there is no branch in politics to which the Spaniards may with ſo much juſtice pretend as impenetrable ſecrecy. While they appeared to be entirely taken up with their domeſtic concerns, and to have nothing ſo much at heart as reſtoring the interior of their adminiſtration, their miniſters in all the courts of Europe, who were generally ſpeaking men of ſenſe and experience, deplored the exorbitant growth of the French power, magnified their own loſſes incurred by daring to ſtand up againſt it; and ſuggeſted, that ſuch as were partners in calamity ought naturally to become allies to each other to prevent being gradually deſtroyed. In Italy the ſpirit of pope Innocent XI. was kept up, notwithſtanding France had already given him ill uſage, and threatened worſe. No pains were ſpared by Don Pedro Ronquillo, at London, to detach king James the Second from his cloſe connection with France, which leſſened him as much with the popiſh powers as his religion did with the Proteſtants. In Holland memorials of a like nature were preſented, and the ſtates ſolicited with great aſſiduity to enter into ſome meaſures for the protection of what was ſtill left of the Spaniſh Low Countries. But in the midſt of theſe inſinuations, remonſtrances, and applications, a miniſter on the behalf of his catholic majeſty, ſigned, with all poſ-

[q] Memoires de la Cour d'Eſpagne.

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ſible ſecrecy, the league at Augſbourg, on the 29th of June [r], into which the emperor, the crown of Sweden, the elector of Bavaria, and other princes and circles of the empire, (the king of Spain himſelf repreſented the circle of Burgundy), entered, for the protection of their reſpective dominions, and for the maintenance of the peace of Nimeguen, and the late truce for twenty years: for this purpoſe their reſpective quotas were aſſigned, his electoral highneſs of Bavaria was declared general of the allies, and a military cheſt eſtabliſhed at Francfort. But the prince of Orange and the ſtates, upon whom the allies chiefly depended, were not, for certain reaſons, amongſt the number of the contracting parties. The French king, exceedingly provoked by the diſcourſes of the Spaniſh miniſters before mentioned, but unwilling to violate openly the truce of Ratiſbon ſo ſoon after it was concluded, took a new method of venting his reſentment. As he had the year before bombarded Genoa, becauſe the republic had built four gallies that might poſſibly join the Spaniſh fleet, ſo now he ſent marſhal d'Etrees with a powerful ſquadron into the Mediterranean, who very unexpectedly appeared before Cadiz, where, after taking two galleons in ſight of ten Dutch men of war, he demanded half a million of crowns for loſſes ſuſtained by the French merchants in Mexico, that is, the value of their goods taken in illicit trade, for which he obtained the promiſe of full and immediate ſatisfaction. This was an additional inſult, and more than was neceſſary to convince the miniſters at Madrid how good a neighbour they had in this potent prince. The additional affront, therefore, of ſetting up poſts upon a common at a ſmall diſtance from Namur, with inſcriptions, declaring it to be within the territories of France, with hints, that a citadel might poſſibly be built there, was a wanton diſplay of a ſuperiority of power, that, whatever the French miniſters fancied [s], was not altogether ſo mortifying to the Spaniards as was intended. On the contrary, theſe exorbitancies, which at another time would have been intolerable, were in ſome meaſure welcome at preſent. A.D.1686.

The great projects that were now upon the carpet obliged the king to purſue the reformation he had begun.

[r] Corps Univerſel Diplomatique, tom. vii. par. ii. p. 132. 133. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Hiſtoire Gener. d'Eſpagne.
[s] Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. par Monſ. l'Abbé de Choiſy, Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

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The queen-mother's influence, and the strange uses she made of it.

The marquis de los Velos was placed at the head of the finances, in order to carry into execution a new alteration in the coin, which occasioned loud and general complaints, more especially from the French and English ministers, the former insisting, that the money due to the French merchants should be paid upon the old foot; and the latter, that the subjects of Great Britain should be exempted from this order. The king's answer was sensible and steady: with respect to public contracts and old debts, he admitted the demand to be reasonable; but in respect to subsequent transactions, his measures had been taken with deliberation, and he could not recede. Abundance of sounding military titles, with good appointments, which those who held them never executed, were suppressed, and a multitude of supernumerary offices in the law had the same fate. The court was visibly changed for the better; and that change would have been still more conspicuous, if the king's heart had not been equally divided between the two queens. His consort had a fever, and the queen-mother did all she could to prevent the king from visiting her, but without effect, though his tenderness in this respect cost him a fit of sickness. On the other hand, the queen-mother prevailed to keep the duke of Medina Cœli in exile, and even procured an order for the return of Valenzuela, notwithstanding it was strenuously opposed [t]; but the king, being made sensible of the consequences, secretly countermanded it.

A.D 1687.

His Catholic majesty has a very large share in the revolution in Great Britain.

The court of France, having intelligence of the league of Augsbourg, proposed to his catholic majesty, after making the like offer to the emperor, to convert the truce of twenty years into a perpetual peace upon the same or like terms, and had the mortification to receive such answers from Vienna and Madrid, as plainly demonstrated the two courts acted in concert. However, the dispute, or rather the quarrel, commenced with the Spaniards the year before, was amicably adjusted, but, as usual, at their expence, by an exchange of certain lands for the common, in the vicinity of Namur. The war with the Moors afforded the Spanish court an opportunity of equipping a considerable squadron of gallies, and repairing some men of war, without giving umbrage; the marquis de Gastanaga was confirmed in his government of the Low Countries, but was so indifferently supplied, that most of the troops there deserted for want of pay; a circumstance

[t] Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

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which the French saw with no small satisfaction, though this would have been very much diminished, if they had known the true cause at that time, which they afterwards published, in their declaration of war, to be the accommodating the prince of Orange with very considerable supplies for the expedition which he then meditated; neither would they have been free from chagrin, if they had discovered the share the Spanish ministers certainly had in determining the duke of Savoy no longer to bear the ill usage he received from monsieur de Louvois, and their intrigues in other courts in Italy, where, being now so little formidable, they had so much the better interest [u].

Acts with much diligence and sagacity in strengthening the confederacy against France.

In the beginning of the year the court of Spain was exceedingly alarmed by the king's falling dangerously ill, during which time the queen-mother assumed the power of excluding the queen-consort from her husband's chamber. Upon his recovery, the queen-mother thought fit to let the duke of Medina Cœli come to court; but he paid pretty dear for that favour, since she obliged him to surrender all his great offices, which she immediately distributed amongst her creatures. To prevent his becoming popular, she divulged, that he was the concealed author of all the new regulations, and that he had sacrificed all things, that he might gain access to the king, in order to give him the necessary lights for carrying those regulations into execution, from whence he came to be reputed the best patriot in Spain, and, though not employed, was as much trusted by the king as ever [w]. In Catalonia the marquis de Leganez, who was viceroy, attempting to put the province in a posture of defence, fell into such hatred with the people, that he demanded to be recalled; upon which the king, or rather the queen-mother, took him at his word, and sent thither the count de Melgar. In the autumn the queen-consort fell ill of the small-pox, of which she recovered, and, during the whole time of her distemper, the king expressed great tenderness for her. Yet there was a rumour, as if the disposition of the court of Rome had been founded about a divorce, on account of the queen's sterility, and that the king might have an opportunity of marrying the infanta of Portugal. In respect to foreign affairs, his majesty laboured earnestly to persuade the emperor into a peace with the Turks, and

[u] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Mercure Historique & Politique, 1687. Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [w] Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne, Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

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continued his correſpondencies in Italy, where his influence began to revive, in proportion as his power was leſs feared. The Moors having beſieged Oran with a great force, the king Don Carlos, who could not have done it perhaps any other way, relieved it by a ſtroke of wit. As ſoon as he received the news, he made it public, adding, that if this misfortune had happened to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty he muſt have publiſhed a proclamation for reſtraining the
A D. 1688. nobility from going thither without leave. The Spaniſh lords took the hint, two hundred of them went at their own expence, and raiſed the ſiege. Count Tourville, with three French men of war, meeting rear-admiral Pacpachin with two Spaniſh ſhips of war in the Mediterranean, as they did not immediately lower their top-ſails, fired upon them, and, after a long engagement, obliged them to pay him the compliment. The court of Madrid was forced to digeſt this affront, and to ſend orders to the count de Gaſtanaga to temporize in the Low Countries, as their ſchemes were not yet ripe. However, a plate-fleet arrived at Cadiz; and, though the king could keep but very little of its contents, yet it gave him freſh credit [x]; and to a court in ſuch circumſtances this was of great uſe.

Death of the queen, his ſecond marriage, and breaking out of a new war.

The death of the queen of Spain, after an illneſs of three days, on the 12th of February, made a great change in the face of affairs, more eſpecially as the French gave out very poſitively, that ſhe died of poiſon [y]. She was buried with little ceremony, and, which was thought extraordinary, her houſhold kept up; but the reaſon quickly appeared; for, in the ſpace of about two months, the king's marriage was declared with the princeſs Mary Anne, daughter to the elector palatine, and, on the 15th of June following, he eſpouſed her by proxy [z]. There were two powerful motives to this marriage; firſt, ſhe was ſiſter to the reigning empreſs and the queen of Portugal; ſecondly, ſhe was young, handſome, and of a family remarkable for their fertility; to which conſiderations we may add, that the match was agreeable to the queen-mother, who now governed all. The marquis de Ribaynac preſſed the king, in the name of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, to declare what part he would take; upon which the king propoſed a neutrality, which the marquis

[x] Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. [y] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, 1686. Hiſtoire Generale d'Eſpagne. [z] Hiſtoire Generale d'Eſpagne, Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, 1689.

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told him his master would not accept, and soon after the French declared war. That declaration was answered by the marquis de Gastanaga in very strong terms; and both in Spain and in the Low Countries all commerce was prohibited, and, by the catholic king's order, all French effects were seized [a]. The duke de Noailles took the field early on the side of Rousillon, and made himself master of the town and castle of Campredon; but the duke de Villahermosa, who commanded in Catalonia, marched against him with a superior army, invested his new conquest, into which the French had put a strong garrison, and, with some difficulty, the duke de Noailles disengaged them, and blew up the place, but not without considerable loss. The Spaniards continued to press the enemy all the rest of the campaign, and levied great contributions in Rousillon, so that on this side they were clearly victorious. In Flanders the French proposed to take three or four of the best places the king of Spain had left; but the Dutch and Brandenburgh troops coming early to the assistance of the marquis of Gastanaga, preserved them all; and marshal Humieres having received a severe check from prince Waldeck at Valcourt, on the 20th of August, the rest of the campaign was not very fertile in events [b]. In Barbary his catholic majesty was less fortunate; for the famous Muley Ishmael, emperor of Morocco, having invested Larache, took it, after a long and obstinate siege, notwithstanding it was very gallantly defended by a garrison of one thousand men. The place being carried by storm, a great part of them were cut to pieces [c]; the rest, who retired to the castle, were obliged to surrender at discretion, and mouldered away in dungeons, that barbarous prince refusing to ransom them, though he sent over a minister to Spain, under colour of treating on this subject, who concluded a convention, which the emperor immediately disavowed. A.D. 1689.

Consequences attending this marriage, and the events of a second campaign.

We have before mentioned the insurrection in Catalonia against the marquis de Leganez, and the complaisance of the king in recalling that nobleman. This, it seems, had a bad effect; for the peasants, pretending that their privileges were violated by quartering troops amongst them, though for their own protection, assembled in great multitudes, and attempted to seize the duke of Villaher-

[a] Corps Univers. Diplomatique, tom. vii. part ii. p. 221. 226.
[b] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Reincourt Histoire de Louis XIV. Larrey Histoire de Louis XIV. [c] Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

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mosa, who quickly disengaged himself, and obliged them to retire to the mountains nearest Barcelona. There, in a sudden fit of repentance, they cut off the head of one of their chiefs, and sent it to the duke, promising the utmost submission for the future; upon which he immediately proclaimed a general pardon. But this was only to gain time, and to amuse; for, having received assurances of succours from France, they took up arms again, and made a powerful diversion in favour of the enemy [d]. The new queen made her public entry into Madrid on the 22d of June, with great magnificence; she brought with her her brother, the grand-master of the Teutonic order, and several other persons of distinction. The king, to shew his great affection for her, created count Mansfield, who went into Germany to conclude the marriage, and to bring her into Spain, prince of Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples; and the queen-mother
A.D.1690. expressed the same fondness for her as if she had been her own daughter [e]. The new pope, Alexander VIII. exhorted the king to peace. This exhortation gave him an opportunity of publishing one of the best penned answers that ever came from the court of Madrid. All the violences committed by Louis XIV. were strongly, though succinctly set forth: it was observed, that as there was not a single power in Europe, his holiness not excepted, whom at some time or other he had not injured, oppressed, and insulted, it was therefore become necessary, for the peace and safety of Christendom, to weaken an exorbitant power which was the continual instrument of pride and ambition; so that this war was not only to be considered as just and necessary, till that purpose was answered, but perfectly consistent with the duties of Christian princes, bound to protect their subjects against a prince whom no considerations of justice or humanity could restrain, and who had so often and so notoriously violated the most solemn treaties. In consequence of these maxims, he concluded a treaty with the duke of Savoy, in pursuance of which that prince entered into the general alliance [f]. The campaign in Catalonia would have been still a better commentary upon his catholic majesty's manifesto, if the disturbances before mentioned had not hindered the duke of

[d] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. [e] Mercure Historique & Politique, 1690, Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [f] Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom vii. par. ii. p. 265.

Villa-

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Villahermosa from taking the field so early as otherwise he would have done; but when he was at last able to act against the French, he compelled the duke of Noailles to retire. However, the Spanish fleet made a descent on the coast, and burnt all the country about Perpignan. In Flanders, notwithstanding the loss of the battle of Flerus, the Spaniards were no great sufferers; and France saw with regret that she was no longer able to make those terrible impressions which had rendered her so formidable to her neighbours but a few years before [g].

Count Oropesa disgraced.

At a season when the Spaniards were so much distressed for money, that no better method could be devised for the present than laying open the necessities of the public to the grandees, and depending on their public spirit, to do for the crown what the crown was unable to do for itself, the galleons arrived safely at Cadiz with thirty millions on board. This incident had a very happy effect, and enabled his majesty to make remittances into Italy and the Low Countries, where all things suffered grievously for want of the stipulated supplies. The marquis de Leganez was sent governor-general into the duchy of Milan, where he found things in great disorder, which, with much vigilance and activity, he laboured to repair. The duke de Medina Cœli, upon whom the king always relied, deceased after a long illness; and the count de Oropesa, who succeeded when the duke was obliged to resign his office of prime minister, was so much and so generally hated, that the king was obliged to part with him. In the month of September his majesty was so dangerously ill, that all Spain expected his death, and could hardly be persuaded that it was possible for him to recover. It was upon this illness that the world began freely to canvass the succession; and that some proposed sending for the young archduke, and giving him the title of presumptive successor; while others insinuated, that perhaps a good peace might be made by adopting the second son of the dauphin, who, as they understood it, had the better title of the two. The king's recovery put an end for the present to these intrigues; till the queen's falling more dangerously ill, introduced some of another kind. However, contrary even to the sentiments of the physicians, she likewise recovered [h].

A.D. 1691.

[g] Mercure Historique & Politique, Histoire Generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Burnet's History of his own Times, Le Clerc, Limiers. [h] Histoire Generale d'Espagne. Mercure Historique & Politique.

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The third campaign in Flanders more particularly unfortunate to Spain.

In relation to the progress of the war, the coasts of Spain suffered extremely from the French fleet, commanded by marshal d'Etrees, which first bombarded Barcelona; and, after ruining part of that fine city, did still more mischief at Alicant. These hostilities incensed the people to such a degree, that they plundered, and were with difficulty hindered from murdering all the French settled amongst them. The duke de Medina Sidonia was sent viceroy into Catalonia, merely to please the people. He managed the war but very indifferently, though he had a better army than his predecessor. Marshal Noailles took Urgel, and made incursions into the kingdom of Arragon. The Spanish duke, having superior forces, marched towards him, as if he would give him battle; but afterwards amused himself with besieging a place of no great consequence, and that in so strange a manner, as induced count Pignatelli, who commanded under him, to retire with the best part of the army to Barcelona. This secession forced the duke to follow him, and both parties appealed in justification of their conduct to the court of Spain, which had no great reason to be satisfied with either [1]. In Flanders, Mons was taken on the 9th of April, after a short siege, so much to the terror and amazement of the Spanish court, that the ministers would have been willing, if they had thought it practicable, to conceal it from the king. His knowlege of it, however, had a very good effect, for he resolved immediately to perform what had been more than once under consideration, the detaching in some measure from the crown these distant dominions. Accordingly, at the close of the year letters patent were dispatched, declaring his serene highness, the elector of Bavaria, hereditary governor of the Low Countries, with incomparably higher powers than had been granted to the archduke Leopold, or to Don Juan of Austria, with a promise of a punctual subsidy of seventy-five thousand pieces of eight per month. This measure is by some ascribed entirely to the influence of king William's counsels; whereas others affirm, that it had been stipulated some years before, upon the elector's marriage with the king's niece [k].

Things go pretty equally on both sides in the fourth.

This year also opened with a most agreeable and seasonable supply, the galleons returning from America with forty-eight millions on board, of which the king had four

[1] Larrey, Histoire de Louis XIV. Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. [k] Mercure Historique & Politique, Quincy, Le Clerc, Burnet, Reincourt, Limiers.

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by way of indulto, which enabled him to send very large sums into the Low Countries and Italy; but his finances, notwithstanding, were in great disorder, and therefore a new junta was appointed to bring them under proper regulations, at the head of which was the count de Monterey. One of their first resolutions was to examine into the conduct of such as had been formerly trusted; and, that it might appear they were in earnest, the marquis de Gastanaga no sooner arrived in Spain, than he was sent prisoner to the castle of Burgos, with a note of the immense sums he had received, and an intimation that he must give an exact account of what was become of them [l]. The Spanish fleet, under the command of admiral Papachin, sailed to Genoa, a circumstance which induced that republic to act for the service of the emperor, and the rest of the allies: and the same fleet was very serviceable afterwards to the duke of Savoy, in his glorious campaign against the French. The marquis de Conflans was appointed viceroy of Catalonia; but it was so late in the year before he arrived, that the duke commanded the Spanish army, which, however, did nothing very considerable. On the other hand, marshal Noailles, being obliged to make a great detachment to reinforce the army employed against the duke of Savoy, was not in a condition to do much. As for the French fleet under marshal d'Etrees, it was so roughly handled by the elements, that, though it appeared before Malaga, and threatened a bombardment; yet, after exchanging some civilities, such as releasing prisoners on one side, and receiving provisions on the other, it quitted the coast. In Flanders, the loss of the important city and fortress of Namur, after a month's siege, and the defeat at Steenkirk, could not but chagrin the court, which, however, was in some measure consoled by certain applications, that plainly shewed that France was not only disposed to make, but was even desirous of purchasing a peace; an inclination she had never discovered before [m]. A.D. 1692.

The pains taken by his catholic majesty and his ministers, in regulating the finances, had a very good effect, and brought the ordinary expences of the government into a proper method; but the unforseen emergencies of the

Two parties already formed in the council, as to the succession.

[l] Larrey, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. [m] Quincy, Histoire de Militaire de Louis XIV. Burnet's History of his own Times. Memoires Historiques & Politiques. Reincourt, Mercure Historique & Politique, Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

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war threw them, notwithſtanding, into ſuch diſtreſs, as might eaſily have undone all they had been doing, if, upon mature deliberation, they had not taken the ſame meaſure they took before, of engaging the public to relieve itſelf. The great councils paid each a certain ſum, the grandees and officers of the court did the like; their example was followed by the cities and great towns, ſo that a very large ſum was levied for once. In order to remedy the ſtate of their military affairs, and that they might have troops when and wherever they were wanted, the king appointed four lieutenant-generals to have the ſuperintendence in that reſpect of all Spain. Theſe were quickly reduced to three; for the count de Monterey, who was of the number, deſired to be excuſed; and ſoon after he refuſed a civil employment of great conſequence, a refuſal which was then aſcribed to diſcontent; but it appeared afterwards that he meditated a retreat from the
A.D.1693. world, which he executed, and went into orders. The marquis de Gaſtanaga made a very good precedent for ſubſequent governors, ſince, after the ſtricteſt examination, he was found to have behaved himſelf, during the time he adminiſtered the affairs of the Low Countries, with great integrity and honour; ſo that, in approbation of his conduct, as well as in reward for his ſervices, he was made viceroy of Catalonia; but he refuſing that employment, it was beſtowed on the marquis of Villena. The rumour of the queen's being with child excited for ſome time a general joy throughout the nation, which gradually ſunk, when it was known to be a miſtake, and, upon this, the intrigues to engage his catholic majeſty to ſettle the ſucceſſion were renewed with greater vigour than ever[a]. The queen-mother, and the count de Oropeſa, who ſtill retained no ſmall credit with his maſter, were vigorous in the ſupport of the electoral prince of Bavaria; but the cardinals Portocarrero and Cordova, Don Juan Henriques de Cabrera, the count de Aguilar, the marquis de Villafranca, and other great politicians, declared in favour of the archduke Charles, the emperor's ſecond ſon. At this time his intereſt ſeemed to be the beſt of the two, though it was a topic not very pleaſing to the monarch, whoſe will was to ſettle the right of theſe contending princes, and, except count Lobkowitz, the Imperial miniſter, none of the ambaſſadors of the allies could be

[a] Memoires & Negociations Secretes du Compte d'Harrach, Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique.

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brought to interfere, as apprehending it equally unpleaſant and indecent.

Marſhal Tourville, with the French fleet, hovered upon the coaſt of Spain, and filled the court with apprehenſions either of a deſcent or a bombardment; at length he appeared before Roſes, in Catalonia, about the beginning of June, and the place was at the ſame time inveſted by land, the French army being commanded by marſhal Noailles. Their operations were commenced by a bombardment, in which the governor being dangerouſly wounded, the place capitulated on the 9th, and it was upon this misfortune that the miniſters demanded a free gift. The marſhal de Tourville, towards the latter end of the ſame month, ſurpriſed the Smyrna fleet, deſtroyed four men of war, and either took, ſunk, or burnt, eighty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips richly laden. This action happened between Lagos and Cadiz; but the enemy purſued the ſhips into the Spaniſh ports, and burnt many of them under the guns of their fortreſſes [o]. The reſt of the campaign in Catalonia was ſpent in marches and countermarches; the duke de Medina Sidonia commanding the Spaniſh army, as the marquis de Villena was not ſent thither till towards the cloſe of the year. The Spaniſh fleet remained this ſummer on the coaſt of Italy; and his catholic majeſty applied to the maritime powers to ſend a naval force ſufficient to cover his dominions the next year, in purſuance of a treaty made with the crown of Great Britain two years before [p]. As to the military operations in Flanders, they were far enough from being ſucceſsful. Furnes and Dixmude were taken at the very beginning of the campaign. Marſhal Luxemburgh had the advantage in the battle of Nerwind, fought on the 29th of July, in which ſome Spaniſh volunteers of diſtinction were killed: but the moſt mortifying ſtroke was the loſs of Charleroi, defended by the marquis of Caſtillo, with a garriſon of four thouſand five hundred men, after twenty-ſeven days open trenches. The army of France was commanded by marſhal Villeroi, and was covered by another army under the command of marſhal Luxemburgh. The attacks were directed by Monſieur Vauban, who had fortified the place, and was therefore ſuppoſed to be beſt acquainted

Spain and her new allies have the worſt almoſt on every ſide in the fifth campaign.

[o] Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Limiers, Hiſtoire du Regne de Louis XIV. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. [p] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Le Clerc, Limiers.

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with it; yet, by an unaccountable mistake, he attacked it where it was strongest. After all these misfortunes, the pope's nuncio insinuated at Madrid his most Christian majesty's inclination to peace, which was rejected with great firmness, as overtures of the like kind were by the rest of the allies [q].

However, steadily reject all propositions for peace, and labour to raise supplies for the war.

His catholic majesty having received from his allies an account of the propositions made to them on the part of France, in which there were some insinuations in regard to settling the succession of his dominions, he thought fit to write a letter, dated the 23d of January, to the States General, in which he assured them of his resolution to carry on the war, mentioned his having taken notice of those insinuations, and considered them with horror and execration, adding, that he hoped Heaven, in compliance with the fervent prayers of his subjects, would yet grant him a successor [r]. The galleons arrived this year with sixteen millions, of which the king had but a small share. The junta for reforming the management of the finances had recourse to many expedients, and yet were not able to furnish the subsidies that had been promised to the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria. The scarcity of men also was almost as great as that of money; and the factions that reigned at court, where those who opposed the French interest were divided among themselves, did not a little contribute to distract their measures, and to frustrate some of their best concerted undertakings. It was owing to these that the marquis de Villena and duke of Escalona, one of the wisest and worthiest men in Spain, could not assemble above sixteen thousand men in Catalonia, and part of these raw troops, though he had been assured they would enable him to take the field early, and with an army superior to that of the enemy [s].

A.D. 1694.

The sixth campaign somewhat less unfortunate than the last.

The French king and his ministers, who, for many reasons, but more especially that they might dissolve the grand alliance, were become very desirous of peace, believed that nothing could contribute to it so much as pushing the Spaniards in Catalonia: for this reason marshal Tourville was sent with a fleet in the spring upon that coast; and marshal Noailles, with thirty thousand men, entered the Spanish frontiers in the beginning of May. The duke of Escalona endeavoured to defend the banks of the river Ter,

[q] Mercure Historique & Politique, Quincy, Histoire de Louis XIV. [r] Reincourt, Histoire de Louis XIV. Memoires du Marquis de Feuquieres. [s] Mercure Historique & Politique.

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though it was fordable in many places; but the duke of Noailles forced the paſſage, on the 22d of May, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, in which the Spaniards loſt about two thouſand men. He afterwards took Palamos, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet, and then beſieged Gironne. The place was ſtrong, and had a good garriſon, but very unluckily compoſed of new troops, who deſerted the works, and obliged the governor to capitulate in leſs than a week. The marſhal afterwards made himſelf maſter of Oſtelrich, upon which the duke of Eſcalona threw himſelf into Barcelona[t]. When the campaign was over, the king prevailed upon the marquis de Gaſtanaga to accept of that government. The fleet of the allies, under the command of admiral Ruſſel, ſailed into the Mediterranean, and continued there the whole year, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the king, that he ſent a jewel to the admiral, valued at fourſcore thouſand crowns. The Moors beſieged Ceuta and Melilla, but without effect. The campaign in Flanders was barren of events. Huy and Dixmude were retaken by the allies; and, if they were no gainers, the Spaniards had, however, the ſatisfaction of loſing nothing, and of ſeeing France more and more oppreſſed by the length and weight of the war[u].

A.D.1695. *But, in the ſeventh, things change their aſpect, and go on much better.*

As the junta for the improvement of the finances had daily more and more ſucceſs, a reſolution was taken of bringing over a body of German and Italian troops to augment the forces in Catalonia; which, however, would have been impracticable but for the aſſiſtance of the fleet of the allies, by which it was executed without any difficulty[w]. Their catholic majeſties were both indiſpoſed this year, and the queen's illneſs was very induſtriouſly aſcribed to a miſcarriage, which, perhaps, ſhe never had[x]. In Catalonia the marquis de Gaſtanaga did wonders: for, inſtead of keeping the field with the regular troops, he applied himſelf with indefatigable diligence to diſcipline the militia and the peaſants. As the French had fortified and put garriſons into many places, he contrived ſometimes to block up one, ſometimes another, chiefly with a view to cut off the convoys and detachments ſent to relieve them, in which endeavours he was very ſucceſsful. The

[t] Reincourt, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Limiers, Quincy, Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. [u] Le Clerc, Limiers. Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Reincourt, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. [x] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique.

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French viceroy, marshal Noailles, being much indisposed, quitted his employment, in which he was replaced by the duke of Vendosme, who turned this method of making war upon the Spaniards, by demolishing and abandoning most of those small places, and harrassing the troops of the count of Gastanaga, sent to repair them; but, upon the whole, the Spaniards were gainers by this campaign [y]. In Italy, with the assistance of Spanish troops and money, the duke of Savoy reduced Casal; the fortifications of which being demolished, the town was restored to its natural sovereign, the duke of Mantua [z]. In Flanders, marshal Villeroy bombarded Brussels. He threw several thousand bombs and red-hot bullets into the place, by which he did a great deal of mischief, but at the same time excited an implacable hatred to the French, and brought upon himself the imputation of having done it in a fit of despair. Namur surrendered on the 4th of August, and the citadel on the 2d of September, notwithstanding Villeroi had threatened to fight the army of the allies commanded by king William, which, however, he durst not attack. These successes on every side raised the spirits of the Spanish ministers, and confirmed them in their inclinations to carry on the war [a].

The duke of Savoy makes a separate peace, and acts against the Spaniards in the Milanese.

The supplies from the Indies not arriving, the ministers found themselves exceedingly distressed for money, and laid a tax, or rather a fine, upon all the lucrative governments, which proved a good expedient, though attended with ill consequences. The death of the queen-mother on the 16th of May produced no great alterations at court, as it had been long expected. Her disease was a cancer of many years continuance; and, as she had been long in a dying condition, she had in a manner outlived her credit [b]. It was not, however, till after her decease that the count de Oropesa came publicly to court, and was again admitted into the king's councils. In the month of September their catholic majesties were both very much indisposed, and it was some time before the king found himself well enough to appear in public; a circumstance which occasioned a general consternation through his dominions, and great distraction in his councils, more espe-

[y] Histoire du Regne de Louis XIV. [z] Larrey, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. [a] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par le Clerc, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Mercure Historique & Politique. [b] Mercure Historique & Politique, 1696. Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

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cially since at this time there was nothing regulated as to the succession [c]. The Moors had lain two years before Ceuta, with a numerous army; it was first defended by the marquis de Valparaiso, with invincible courage, and afterwards with indefatigable diligence by the marquis de Avallaneda, who was sent to relieve it; so that, after losing fifteen thousand men, and being in the field twenty-five months, the infidels abandoned their design. The marquis de Gastanaga, finding it impracticable to struggle with the difficulties to which his post was exposed, and the haughty temper of the prince of Hesse Darmstadt, who commanded the German troops, resigned his viceroyalty, A.D. 1696. and was succeeded by Don Francisco de Velasco. The duke de Vendosme, who had the title of viceroy from the king of France, gained some advantage over the prince of Hesse; and, except a dispute at the beginning, there happened nothing of consequence during this campaign, the duke's army being but weak [d]. In Italy things took a very ill turn; for the duke of Savoy, who had renewed his treaty with the allies but the year before, and demanded extraordinary succours in men and money, to protect his capital from being besieged by the French, acted therein but a delusive part, as having made a secret treaty with France. At length having separated the foreign auxiliaries into different posts, he declared for a neutrality in Italy; and, as the Spaniards did not readily embrace it, he put himself at the head of the French army, and besieged Valenza, which, through the care of the marquis de Leganez, was in a good state of defence. However, as the courts of Vienna and Madrid found it impossible to regain him, though they offered the duchy of Milan in property, and were also apprised that most of the Italian powers approved his measures, they were obliged to comply, and accept a neutrality likewise [e]. In Flanders, though the French and the allies had great armies, and though the latter were commanded by king William and the elector of Bavaria in person, yet in effect there was little or nothing done, no battle fought, no place so much as besieged; but, towards the end of the year, plenipotentiaries were appointed, and a place settled for a congress,

[c] Memoires & Negotiations secretes du Comte de Harrach. [d] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Histoire generale d'Espagne. [e] Burnet's History of his own Times, Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. part ii. p. 368. Actes, Memoires, & Negociations, de la Paix de Ryswick, edit. de la Haye, 1725.

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which seemed to explain the inactivity of the preceding campaign.

By this and the taking Ath, Barcelona, and Carthagena, the Spaniards are forced into the peace of Ryswick.

In Spain, the want of money, and the necessity of finding it, being equally great, the ministers had once more recourse to a free gift, to which some of the grandees, when they had given what they could afford, added the profit of their offices, which they sold for the public benefit. In the mean time arrived the galleons, with thirty millions, out of which the king's share was not much, and the demands from Catalonia were very high [f]. Lewis XIV. finding that he could easily compromise matters with the maritime powers, offered, in complaisance to the Spaniards, a neutrality in Catalonia, which they absolutely rejected. The army of the prince of Hesse Darmstadt was very considerably augmented, the fortifications of Barcelona were repaired, and directions given for a fleet. Mean while, the duke of Noailles took the field with a numerous army, and directed his march immediately towards that city. At the same time the count d'Etrees and the bailiff de Noailles appeared upon the coast, one with a large fleet, and the other with a strong squadron of gallies, so that the place was quickly invested by land and by sea, though not completely, for the prince of Hesse, who had thrown himself into it with the best part of the infantry, had still a communication with the viceroy, who, with between six and seven thousand horse, foot, and dragoons, were encamped behind him. The siege was long and bloody, more especially the action by which the duke of Vendosme cut off the communication between the army and the town. At length, however, after fifty-two days open trenches, the capitulation was signed on the 10th of August [g]. In Flanders the important fortress of Ath was taken by the marshal Catinat, which, with the news of the loss of Carthagena in the West Indies, besieged, reduced, and plundered, by the sieur Pontis, and ransacked again by the buccaneers, brought the ministers at Madrid to see clearly, that they must accept of those terms which their allies thought reasonable. Accordingly, proper orders being dispatched to Don Bernard de Quiros, the treaty was signed at the castle of Ryswick, on the 20th of September [h], by which all that had been taken from them in Catalonia, the important for-

A.D. 1697.

[f] Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure Historique & Politique, 1697. Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

[h] Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. vii. part ii. p. 408. Actes, Memoires, & Negociations, de la Paix de Ryswick.

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treſs of Luxemburgh, the county of Chinei, the fortreſſes of Charleroi, Mons, Ath, Courtrai, and all that had been torn from them by the chambers of reunion, were reſtored. The peace was ſolemnly proclaimed at Madrid; the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, in conſideration of the gallant defence of Barcelona, was not only created grandee of Spain, and adorned with the order of the Golden Fleece, but declared likewiſe viceroy and captain-general of Catalonia[h]. The king made him a preſent of fifty thouſand piſtoles, which was followed by rich gifts from the queen, and very expenſive compliments of the ſame kind from all the grandees, who were deſirous of acquiring or preſerving her favour. A regiment of horſe-guards was formed moſtly out of the inferior officers of the diſbanded cavalry, of which the prince himſelf was colonel, and named all the other officers. This incident gave very great offence, more eſpecially as this new regiment was eſtabliſhed when moſt of the national corps were diſcharged; but the queen payed no regard to the murmurs of the nation, purſuing her intereſts, or rather her inclinations, with very remarkable vivacity. The cardinal archbiſhop of Toledo, better known to the world by the title of cardinal Portocarrero, gave her no ſmall oppoſition; and, according as their reſpective credits prevailed, various ſucceſſive changes took place[i]. At this time the queen had an apparent ſuperiority, as appeared from the count de Monterey's being forbidden the court for the freedom with which he expreſſed himſelf in council, and the raiſing count d'Oropeſa to the high dignity of preſident of Caſtile. The king's health continued all this time very precarious; he was ſubject to fainting fits, to fluxes, and ſometimes his hands and legs ſwelled. The phyſicians adviſed a change of air; upon which their majeſties made a tour to the city of Toledo; the king grew much better, and, by the uſe of gentle exerciſe, recovered his ſtrength. On the return of the court to Madrid, the miniſterial intrigues revived. Count Harrach, the imperial miniſter, had a great influence over the king, and a greater over the queen; but the marquis de Harcourt, who was ſent from France immediately after the concluſion of the peace, had likewiſe a conſiderable degree of favour; and the marchioneſs his wife behaved with ſo much reſpect to all the

A.D. 1698.

The court torn by factions and intrigues.

[h] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique.

[i] Memoires & Negociations ſecretes du Compte de Harrach.

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Spaniſh ladies, made them ſo many preſents, and took ſuch pains to render herſelf popular, that in the ſpace of a few months, it was ſurpriſing to ſee the progreſs that was made in raiſing and augmenting a party. Amongſt other arts, the marquis exhibited in the hall of his palace the pictures of the dauphin and of his three ſons, the dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry, and care was taken to point out their reſemblance to the infanta Donna Maria Thereſa, whoſe memory was very dear to all the old Spaniards. Beſides, the marquis neglected nothing to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of the clergy; and, being informed by them of many families of old officers that were in diſtreſs, he relieved them liberally and ſecretly. He likewiſe offered his catholic majeſty a ſquadron for the relief of Ceuta, which was again beſiged; and in reſpect to ſome differences that aroſe upon the frontiers, after great pains taken to fix the fault upon the Spaniards, all was left to his catholic majeſty's diſcretion, and no demands of ſatisfaction were made, as in former times [k].

The prince of Bavaria declared heir by the firſt treaty of partition.

The firſt treaty of partition was negotiated this ſummer between king William and Louis XIV. with very great ſecrecy, and at length concluded and ſigned at the Hague, on the 11th of October; on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, by the count Tallard; by the earl of Portland and ſir Joſeph Williamſon, on the part of his Britannic majeſty; and by eight plenipotentiaries for the States General. The ratifications were dated the 24th of the ſame month. By this treaty the electoral prince of Bavaria was to enjoyed Spain and the Indies; the dauphin was to poſſeſs the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places on the coaſt of Tuſcany, the town and marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa, including the towns of Fontarabia, St. Sebaſtian, and Port Paſſage; and the archduke Charles was to have the duchy of Milan. There had been long a diſpoſition in the king, at the inſtance of the queen, and ſome of the miniſters, to favour the archduke Charles; but it was thought requiſite, as a previous meaſure, that the emperor ſhould ſend ten thouſand men into his catholic majeſty's dominions, that there might be a force ſufficient to ſupport whatever declaration the king ſhould make. But the emperor Leopold deferred this meaſure ſo long, on account of his war with the Turks, and other motives, ſome of which were conceal-

[k] Memoires & Negociations ſecretes du Comte de Harrach.

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ed, and some assigned, and the bishop of Lerida[1], his catholic majesty's minister at Vienna, sent such strange relations of the contempt expressed for the Spanish nation at that capital, that, the patience of the king Don Carlos being quite worn out, he at length determined to make, and actually did make, a will in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria, which was entirely conformable to the disposition of his father Philip IV. and to the renunciations upon which that disposition was founded. The only colour of objection to which this young prince's title was liable, was, the renunciation made by his mother the archduchess Maria Antonietta, upon her marriage with the elector of Bavaria; but the most able lawyers unanimously agreed, that this renunciation was null and void, as not having been communicated to the court, and not having had the sanction of the cortes, or states of Spain[m]; an enquiry and resolution attended with extraordinary consequences.

A.D. 1699.

The death of the prince of Bavaria turns things back into the former state of perplexity.

The marquis de Harcourt having received intelligence of this testament, from cardinal Portocarrero, had given early notice of it in France, and received orders to present a memorial to his catholic majesty upon this head; which we find represented in some collections of state papers as a very secret transaction, and as inconsistent with his most Christian majesty's engagements with his Britannic majesty and the states. It was neither; for it was so public, that it appeared in the common gazettes at that time; and all that is said therein amounts to no more than this, that, considering the harmony subsisting between the two courts, it was with great surprize he learned, in a manner that would not allow him to doubt of the fact, that his catholic majesty had made a testament in favour of the electoral prince of Bavaria: that it was fit his majesty should know the most Christian king could not but be attentive to the indubitable rights of his only son the dauphin; and that it was requisite to put his majesty in mind, that the most Christian king, as well out of tenderness as decency, had never troubled him before even with the most distant hint on this delicate subject. This remonstrance produced a civil, but a general answer, importing, that his catholic majesty's attention to the

[1] Histoire de Louis XIV. par Martinere, tom. v. p. 198, 199. Abregé de l'Histoire de France, par le President Henaut, p. 669. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, tom. i. p 320. [m] Memoires du Compte de Harrach, tom. ii. p. 124. 302.

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peace and welfare of his subjects should be ever accompanied with a strict regard to what was due to the relation and friendship subsisting between the two monarchs[n]. In the mean time the young prince, whom the king and the allies had destined for his successor, died the 6th of February, of a short illness at Brussels, attended with some suspicions that received perhaps too much credit from what was some years after thrown out by the elector of Bavaria, in a manifesto which he published, and which amounts to no more than a proof of his opinion[o]. This unexpected death, however, altered the state of things every where; for, though it was provided against in a secret article of the partition treaty, in which it was stipulated, that, in such a case, the elector might be substituted in the place of his son, yet, upon mature deliberation, it was judged more expedient to have recourse to a new treaty. In Spain the king was advised by his ministers to make a new will, and to take the sense of the pope, which has ever the greatest weight in that country as to the validity of renunciations, in prejudice to the established rule of succession.

King Charles visits the tombs, and opens the coffins of his deceased mother and wife.

There happened about the close of the month of April, at Madrid, a violent sedition, the cause of which was a scarcity of bread, and the dearness of all sorts of provisions. The populace demolished the house of the count de Oropesa, and would have murdered him and his family, if they had not found means to escape in disguise. By the express interposition of the king's authority, and not without much difficulty, it was appeased; upon a strict enquiry it was found, that the source of this mischief was a new tax, the produce of which was shared by the count de Oropesa, the amirante of Castile, and the countess of Berlips, the queen's favourite. Upon this occasion the king pardoned all who had been imprisoned, moved the count de Oropesa from being president of Castile, and banished both him and the amirante; and the cardinal of Toledo, with other ministers, who had been for some time out of favour, were recalled and caressed[p]. At the proper season of the year the court went to the Escurial, where the king paid a visit to the Pantheon, and ordered

[n] Lamberti, Memoires pour servir à la Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. i. p. 96. Mercure Historique & Politique, A. D. 1699.
[o] Histoire des Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, par Le Clerc, Burnet's History of his own Times, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. [p] Mercure Historique & Politique, Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

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the coffins of his mother and first queen to be opened. Of the former there was nothing left entire but one hand, which the king stooped down and kissed with tears. The body of the latter remained not only whole, but the colour of the face remained unchanged; circumstances which surprised the king so much, that he immediately retired. There have been various speculations upon this incident; but his father Philip the Fourth had done the very same in the year 1655, when it was observed that the body of Charles the Fifth appeared more fresh than that of his own queen Elizabeth, who died but nine years before [q]. At the return of the court from the Escurial, the king having granted a pension on the revenues of the Low Countries, to the countess of Berlips, the count de Monterey, who was president of the council of Flanders, not only opposed it, but inveighed so bitterly against what he called the German government, that he received orders from the king to retire from Madrid in forty-eight hours; upon which a new commotion ensued, and the people, in the king's hearing, cried out, "Let the patriots be recalled, and the plunderers banished [r]!"

Resents highly the conduct of Great Britain and Holland.

While the allies were intent upon their new treaty of partition, the count de Canales, the Spanish minister at London, presented a memorial to the regency, the king being then in Holland, conceived in very strong terms, in which some gross epithets were used with respect to the first treaty. Upon the transmitting of this paper, dated the 3d of May, to the king, at Loo, Mr. secretary Vernon was directed to wait upon the Spanish ambassador, with an order to quit the kingdom in eighteen days. When this incident was known at Madrid, Mr. Stanhope, the British minister, received the like orders [s]. This affair did not, however, hinder the allies from concluding their second treaty, by which Spain and the Indies were given to the archduke Charles; the duchy of Lorrain was added to the countries assigned the dauphin, in exchange for which duke Leopold of Lorrain was to have the duchy of Milan. The emperor was to signify his consent in three months; and in case the duke of Lorrain would not accept of Milan, it was to be given to the elector of Bavaria, or to the duke of Savoy; in the first case the dauphin was to have Navarre; and in the latter, the duchy of Savoy and

[q] Les Delices de l'Espagne & du Portugal, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. [r] Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [s] Mercure Historique & Politique.

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the county of Nice. This second treaty of partition was signed at London, by the French and English ministers, on the 3d of March 1700, N. S. and at the Hague on the 25th of the same month, by the plenipotentiaries for the states[t]. In the month of August the emperor, by count Harrach, declared to the ministers of France and Holland, and afterwards to the secretary of the English embassy, that he conceived himself to have the sole and indubitable right of succession to the whole of the Spanish monarchy; and that, if his line should fail, that succession belonged to the house of Savoy by the testament of Philip the Fourth. At the same time, however, that this declaration was made, his imperial majesty desired that they would not proceed to name another prince in consequence of his refusal, pursuant to one of the articles of the treaty, in case he did not accept it in three months, and, by a secret article, the term was extended to five months. In this situation things rested, at least on the part of the allies. Their differences with the court of Madrid were not long after amicably compromised, and their usual intercourse restored, through the minister of Holland only; neither of the kings being inclined to recede first, but rather to allow time to act as the mediator between them[u].

Strange distraction and confusion amongst the ministers, and in the court of Madrid.

As there were many points, in regard to the frontiers in the Low Countries, left undecided between the two crowns, commissioners were appointed to meet at Lisle, by their catholic and most Christian majesties, who, in an amicable manner settled every thing, and subscribed a treaty or convention upon this subject, towards the close of the foregoing year. The king, in his heart, was as much attached to his family as ever; and therefore he appointed Don Francisco de Moles, duke de Pareta, his ambassador to the court of Vienna, with the warmest assurances of that nature; from whence a report afterwards prevailed in the world, that this Neapolitan nobleman carried with him a will in favour of the archduke.

A.D. 1700. Not long after father Moro, who came from Turin, put the whole court in confusion, by pretending to discover that his majesty was bewitched, and that his ill health was owing to charms and practices with evil spirits. This ridiculous assertion at first met with some credit. The monk

[t] Corps Diplomatique, tom. vii. par. ii. p. 477. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, & auct. supra citat.

[u] Memoires du Comte d'Harrach, tom. i. Histoire Generale d'Espagne, History of Europe, A. D. 1700.

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was permitted to exorcise the king, for which, as he was not at all the better, the tables were turned upon the exorcist, so that he fell into the hands of the inquisition. Father Dias, the king's confessor, who ran, or pretended to run, into the same wild notions, and took the liberty from thence of speaking very injuriously of persons of the highest rank, was not only disgraced but banished, and sent prisoner to his cloister. The marquis de Harcourt, who was grown weary of a court where there was so much discord and confusion, had his audience of leave in May, and soon after returned to France, having first introduced M. Blecourt, who was appointed envoy on his departure[w].

The violence of the king's disease much exasperated by chagrin and despair.

All possible methods had been tried by the queen, and those in her favour, to prevent the countess of Berlips from being sent back to Germany; but the public clamour became so strong, and some of the principal ministers represented to the king, in such plain terms, the mischiefs occasioned, that she was at length dismissed, with her son, her niece, and most of the German servants the queen had brought with her, but with great civility, and many rich presents[x]. The king's health remained very precarious; he was sometimes seized with vomitings, and other evacuations, that threatened him with immediate death; notwithstanding which he recovered, and for some short space of time seemed tolerably well. In these intervals he went so often in procession, took so much exercise, and appeared so frequently in public, that the people might conceive the better of his health, as, in the opinion of his physicians, contributed not a little to those frequent relapses. The French minister, and the minister from the States, having each of them communicated, by a memorial, the conclusion of the second treaty of partition, it threw his catholic majesty into a deep melancholy, who thereupon demanded from the emperor the archduke Charles, desiring he might be sent privately into Spain; and proposing that an indisposition should be feigned, to prevent his departure from being discovered as long as possible. To this request he received no immediate answer; so that the delays of that court, the memorials of the allies, the misunderstandings amongst his own ministers, leaving him no quiet, and no creature to whom he could express himself in confidence, the poor

[w] Histoire Generale de Espagne, Mercure Historique & Politique, Memoires du Compte d'Harrach. [x] Mercure Historique & Politique.

king

king often traverſed his apartments, haſtily wringing his hands like one in deſpair, and was overheard to ſay to himſelf, "Where is my ſon! where is Charles! where is the archduke!" At length, underſtanding that, under pretence of care for that young prince's health, the emperor had actually refuſed to ſend him, he loſt all patience and power over himſelf. At this juncture the French miniſter preſented a menacing memorial, which, added to the load of his former afflictions, brought on, about the middle of September, ſuch a violent fit of his diſtemper, that he received the ſacraments of the church; but, to the amazement of thoſe about him, and even of his phyſicians, he not only eſcaped, but ſeemed to recover ſtrength [y].

At the inſtigation of cardinal Portocarrero, makes a will in favour of the duke of Anjou.

When he grew a little better, cardinal Portocarrero repreſented to him the neceſſity of his fixing the ſucceſſion by a will; that the ſecret congregation at Rome, to whom the pope had referred the renunciations of his aunt and of his ſiſter, had declared them null; that the motive of thoſe renunciations, which was preventing the junction of the crowns of France and Spain, might be complied with, and, at the ſame time, the diſmembering of his dominions prevented, by calling Philip, duke of Anjou, to the ſucceſſion. Upon this repreſentation the king fixed his eyes earneſtly on the cardinal, who ſtood by his bed-ſide, bid him weigh the matter attentively, and remember that he diſcharged the whole burthen of it upon him, who muſt be reſponſible at the laſt day for his conduct in this important affair. Thus adjured, the cardinal cauſed the will to be drawn, which the king, not without great reluctance, ſigned, on the 2d of October following. Having ſealed it up, he ordered it to be put in a cover before ſome of the principal nobility, who thereupon indorſed their names as witneſſes, viz. the cardinals Portocarrero and Borgia, Don Manuel de Arias, preſident of Caſtile, the duke of Medina Sidonia, count de Benavente, and the dukes of Seſſa and Infantado. Three days after he made a codicil, by which he confirmed his teſtament, and added ſome pious legacies, directing that the queen ſhould have the government either of the Italian provinces or of the Low Countries, at her own choice [z]. He wrote to the duke of Pareta to acquaint him with his teſtament; and

y Lamberti, Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſt. du Siecle xviii. tom. i. p. 110. Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Hiſtoire Generale d'Eſpagne. z Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vii. par. ii. p. 485. Memoires de la Torre, tom. ii. p. 64, 109.

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ordered him to inform the emperor, that notwithstanding the low state of his affairs and his health had obliged him to take this step, yet he hoped to live long enough to make another disposition in favour of his imperial majesty, without prejudice to the welfare of his subjects. He grew afterwards so much better, that public rejoicings were made at Madrid and at Brussels. On the 26th of October he relapsed for the last time with such mortal symptoms, that he immediately received the sacraments with great resignation, and on the 1st of November, between two and three in the afternoon, he breathed his last, being within five days of thirty-nine years old, and having reigned a little more than thirty-five years [a].

The will accepted by Louis XIV. and the dauphin.

The late king's testament was opened the very same day that he died; upon which the queen-dowager, cardinal Portocarrero, the president of Castile, the inquisitor-general, the count de Frigliano, counsellor of state, and the count de Benavente, grandee of Spain, in quality of regents of the kingdom, notified to the minister of France the nomination of the duke of Anjou. The minister dispatched an account of this disposition, with an extract of the testament, to the court of France. The queen, and the rest of the regents, wrote also the same day to the most Christian king; and afterwards dispatched a second and a third letter, to press the immediate departure of their new king, and to represent the difficulties they laboured under, till they received at least the news of his acceptance of the crown. On the 12th of the same month Louis XIV. notified to them, by a letter under his own hand, that the duke of Anjou had accepted the crown, and that the dauphin had renounced all his pretensions in his favour [b]. Philip, duke of Orleans, on behalf of himself and his son, made at Paris a solemn protest against the validity of this will, with respect to the preference given to the archduke Charles, in prejudice to the duke and his family, more especially as that testament is founded solely on the inviolable rule of succession to the Spanish monarchy [c]. This protest is dated the 1st of December, and on the 4th of the same month the new king set out for his dominions.

[a] Burnet's History of his own Times, Memoires de la Torre, tom. ii. p. 133. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. [b] Larrey, Histoire de Louis XIV. Lamberti, Memoires pour Servir a l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. [c] Mercure Historique & Politique.

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SECT. XVIII.

The Reign of Philip V. from his Accession, to the Treaty of Utrecht.

Measures taken by the regents to facilitate the quiet accession of Philip.

THE regents having fixed the 24th of November for the proclamation of the new king, the ceremony was performed with all possible regularity and splendor [d]. Knowing well how bold a step they had taken, they resolved to proceed in the same road, and with the same vigour. They desired the marquis of Harcourt, now honoured with the title of duke and peer, to take his seat in the council. In their answer to his most Christian majesty's letter, they desired him to take what measures he thought proper on the behalf of Spain, and assured him of their approbation, as also that they had given instructions to the viceroys of provinces, and governors of places, to obey his orders, and to march or to receive whatever troops he should judge requisite [e]. The dukes of Burgundy and Berry attended Philip to the frontiers, and took their leaves of him in the Isle of Pheasants. The king slept that night at Irun, which was the 24th of January, where he was received by the bishop of Pampeluna, and other persons of distinction [f]. His first act of sovereignty was bestowing the viceroyalty of Catalonia upon the count de Palma, nephew to cardinal Portocarrero, notwithstanding the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, who was in possession of that dignity, had owned him as well as the rest of the Spanish viceroys; such as the elector of Bavaria in the Low Countries, prince Vaudemont in the duchy of Milan, and the duke de Medina Cœli at Naples. But, in the midst of all this seeming tranquility, as there was a league forming abroad, so there were contrivances at home to deprive him of that crown which he had so lately received.

The count de Harrach, on the 17th of January, protested, in the most solemn manner, at Madrid, against the validity of the late king's will; which he alleged that monarch had no power to make [g]. Father Torres, who had

[d] Hist. gen. d'Espagne, Memoires & Negociations secretes de diverses Cours de l'Europe, tom. ii. p. 188. [e] Lamberti, Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. i. p 233. [f] History of Europe for 1700. Burnet's History of his own Times. [g] Memoires de la Torre, tom. iii. p. 24. Lamberti, Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. i. p. 367.

been

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been his confessor, asserted, that a little before his death he had declared to him and to the inquisitor-general, that what he did was against his inclination. The queen-dowager likewise was disposed to the same way of thinking; of which inclination king Philip being informed, he wrote her a letter with his own hand, desiring her to quit the capital, and to go to Valencia, Granada, or Cordova; but, as the season was very cold, she chose to go no farther than Toledo [h]. The regents intimated to Bernard de Mendoza, bishop of Segovia, inquisitor-general, and one of their own number, that his absence would be acceptable; and as for the confessor, they banished him without ceremony. They removed likewise some other persons, and even the Imperial and Palatine ministers, who made at first some difficulty of obeying; but the regents having observed to them, that they could not insist on their public characters to a prince they would not acknowlege, and that they could not be responsible for the safety of their persons, they thought fit to take the advice that was given them [i]. King Philip arrived on the 18th of February at the palace of Buen Retiro, where he was received by cardinal Portocarrero, and many of the grandees, and where he resided till the 14th of April, when, all things being ready, he made his public entry into Madrid with all possible magnificence, and attended by such a croud of people, that some were pressed to death in the streets. His youth, his docility, the sweetness of his temper, his clemency, and, above all, his piety, gained him the affections of the nobility in appearance, and of the middle and meaner sort of people in reality [k].

A.D. 1701.

Contrivances of those who were still attached to the house of Austria.

The court of France, desirous of securing the duke of Savoy in the interest of the two crowns, after the refusal, as some say, of an archduchess, demanded the younger daughter of that prince, Donna Louisa Gabriella, sister to the duchess of Burgundy, to which alliance the duke very readily agreed. This marriage was declared at Madrid on the 4th of May, without asking the opinion or consent of the council, at which some took offence. But public rejoicings were made, and the marriage went on. It was afterwards hastily solemnized at the court of Savoy. The young princess was sent to Nice, from whence she proceeded by sea to Marseilles, where, after being enter-

Philip unanimously acknowledged and received by the provinces of Spain.

[h] Mercure Historique & Politique, A. D. 1701. [i] Histoire general d'Espagne. [k] History of Europe for 1701. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

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tained in the moſt ſuperb manner, ſhe proceeded to Barcelona, to which city the king, upon the notice of her departure, immediately ſet out from Madrid [1]. Before he left his capital, he received the homage of the grandees of Caſtile. He alſo made a tour, in the month of Auguſt, to Toledo, in order to viſit the queen-dowager, who received him with all poſſible marks of kindneſs and reſpect, made him a preſent of a Golden Fleece richly adorned with jewels, which ſhe faſtened with her own hands to his button, and received from him an Eagle enriched with diamonds of great price. All the provinces of Spain made him a free gift upon his acceſſion, and, amongſt the reſt, that of Guipuſcoa, which had never ſhewn the like mark of zeal for any of his predeceſſors. He named, on his leaving Madrid, a cabinet council, at the head of which was cardinal Portocarrero, made a public entry into the city of Saragoſſa, in his way to Catalonia, and, arriving at Barcelona, held an aſſembly of the ſtates there in the month of October, where he gave a ſpecimen of his wiſdom and goodneſs, which induced the people for a time to conſider him as another Solomon (A). There his mar-

[1] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Hiſtoire general d'Eſpagne.

riage

(A) The caſe alluded to in the text regards the ſon of the duke de Medina Sidonia, the firſt duke in Caſtile, grandee of Spain of the firſt claſs, maſter of the horſe to the king, and one of the graveſt, worthieſt, and moſt potent noblemen in Spain. This young gentleman, being diſpleaſed that an officer of the revenue preſumed to ſearch his equipage at the entrance of Madrid, gave him ſome coarſe language; to which, either not knowing or not regarding his quality, the fellow anſwered with all the inſolence of a man in office; which ſo provoked the young lord, that he ſhot him through the head. For this high offence cardinal Portocarrero cauſed him to be cloſely confined, and diſpatched an expreſs immediately to Barcelona, with an account of what happened, to the king, as being unwilling to run any hazard of offending the grandees, by taking any ſteps, in an affair of ſo delicate a nature, of his own head. As ſoon as Philip had received and read the cardinal's diſpatch, he called the duke of Medina Sidonia into his cabinet: "There is a young man," ſaid the king, "the ſon of a perſon of very high quality, who has killed an officer of the revenue for doing his duty, and while he was doing it; I deſire you would give me your opinion, how we ought to be puniſhed for this offence?" The duke, after a little conſideration, made anſwer, that the offence was of a very high nature;

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riage was celebrated with great luſtre; and there, in conſequence of his grandfather's advice, which was likewiſe approved by his own council, he reſolved to paſs over into Italy, where the war was already begun, and where his preſence was on that and many other accounts become abſolutely neceſſary [m].

His foreign alliances with Portugal and Savoy, and his marriage with a princeſs of the laſt mentioned houſe.

As to foreign affairs, the intereſts of Spain were now entirely managed by the moſt Chriſtian king, who ſhewed great wiſdom and ſpirit in the contrivance; but having outlived the great miniſters and heroes who had contributed to the elevation of his glory, he failed in the execution of them. If he really outwitted the allies, in preferring the ſpirit to the letter of the partition treaty, they were certainly even with him by their perſevering in ſuch a conduct as hindered him from diſcerning with certainty whether they intended peace or war. King William and the ſtates of Holland acknowleged king Philip upon his acceſſion; and the latter, by this act of civility, recovered twenty-two battalions of old troops diſperſed in the garriſons of the Low Countries. Yet in the beginning of the month of September, the grand alliance was ſigned [n], which meaſure, perhaps, might have been prevented, if France had made the ſame vigorous uſe of her arms ſhe had formerly done. An alliance offenſive and defenſive was alſo concluded, by the two crowns, with the duke of Savoy [o], in conſequence of which, and the

[m] Hiſtoire gen. d'Eſpagne, Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique. [n] Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. p. i. p. 89. Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Le Clerc, Quincy, Limiers. [o] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

nature; that the young man, let him be whoſe ſon he would, ſhould be confined for the remainder of his life in priſon; and his father obliged to provide for the widow of the deceaſed, and for all his family. "You have ſpoke," returned Philip, "upon this occaſion, like a king, and therefore I muſt ſpeak to you as a father. The criminal is your ſon; ſend him to one of your own caſtles, and keep him there till he is made thoroughly ſenſible of his fault; with reſpect to the widow and family of the deceaſed, I cannot diſpenſe with that part of your judgment, and I am perſuaded you will make no difficulty in aſſigning them a handſome maintenance." The duke threw himſelf at the king's feet, to thank him for this act of favour and kindneſs, and remained always attached to him with the moſt heroic fidelity (1).

(1) Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, tom. xxxi. p. 579. Cauſes celebres & intereſſantes, tom. viii. p. 521.

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marriage of his daughter, he was declared generaliſſimo of their forces in Italy, where, as marſhal Catinat ſuſpected, he expoſed his perſon with great intrepidity on one ſide, while he furniſhed to, as well as held ſecret intelligence with the other [p]. An alliance of the like kind was made with the court of Portugal; and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, amongſt other things, undertook to pay the dowry of the queen-dowager of England, in caſe it ſhould, out of reſentment of this treaty, be ſtopped by that crown. Both theſe alliances, though advantageous in ſhew, proved detrimental in fact to France and Spain, where they depended upon, and were deceived by them. The pope was in the intereſt of king Philip, and yet had not the courage to grant him the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples. An inſurrection happened in that capital, which was extinguiſhed indeed, but not without effuſion of blood, as well in the ſtreets as on the ſcaffold; ſo that at the end of this year affairs had a very cloudy aſpect at home and abroad. The young king found himſelf obliged to quit his conſort almoſt as ſoon as he had received her, and the kingdoms of which he had juſt taken poſſeſſion, to go and expoſe his perſon in provinces where a ſpirit of diſaffection had already appeared, and at the head of armies which had already ſuffered ſeveral checks. He was to rely entirely upon the conduct of others, having as yet no military experience, and being too young to form any juſt notions of men or things, at leaſt in proportion to the exigency of his affairs, and that critical conjuncture in which he was called to the government of a nation, diſtracted in their councils, divided in their affections, and, in point of treaſure and power, almoſt totally exhauſted. It is true, that, towards the cloſe of the year, he had the conſolation of ſeeing the plate-fleet arrive with a cargo of ſixty millions; and was ſo prudent as to refuſe admiſſion to the fleet of the allies, which, without committing hoſtilities, had demanded entrance into the port of Cadiz [q], with an intention to ſeize it.

King Philip makes a tour to Italy, contrary to the ſentiments of the Spaniſh nobility.

The intended voyage of king Philip into Italy was by no means agreeable to many of the Spaniſh lords, and it was likewiſe diſapproved by the duke of Harcourt. His grandfather ſent him a long memorial upon the ſubject, by the count de Marſin; but as he remained fixed to his purpoſe, after the peruſal of that paper, his moſt Chriſ-

[p] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

[q] Hiſtoire d'Eſpagne,

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tian majesty consented [r]. In the mean time there were many things of importance to be settled; the states of Catalonia made high demands, and took very little notice of those made by the king. Both their majesties were much indisposed during their residence at Barcelona; and the intelligence they received from Madrid, as well as from most other quarters, was far from being agreeable. At length the king yielded to all the demands of the Catalans; and, in return, they granted him a million, to be paid in ten years, and fifty thousand crowns by way of free gift to the queen. The marquis de Bedmar was appointed commander in chief of the Low Countries, on the departure of the elector of Bavaria for his own dominions. At the pressing instances of cardinal Portocarrero, the king consented that the queen should remain in Spain, and that the councils of regency should be held in her presence. A D. 1702.

Pacifies Naples by his presence, and secures the Sicilians without making them a visit.

All things being at length adjusted in the best manner possible, the king embarked at Barcelona on the 8th of April, and landed the 15th of the same month in the bay of Naples. He made his entry into that city next day, where his presence seemed to re-establish a calm. He was not only very affable to the nobility, but granted audience to all sorts of people, heard their grievances patiently, and redressed them as far as he was able. There was an arrear of about five or six millions due to the crown for quit-rents and taxes, which lay very heavy, and afforded the officers of the revenue constant colour for vexations. King Philip remitted the whole; at which generosity the people were so distracted with joy, that when the nobility made him a free gift of three hundred thousand ducats, the commons of Naples gave him four hundred thousand [s]. He would have crossed the sea to Sicily; but it was represented to him, that the severity of the Spanish government, since the revolt of Messina, had not only spread universal discontent through that island, but had impoverished the nobility and gentry to such a degree, that the expence of a royal visit would absolutely ruin them. He not only desisted, upon this remonstrance, from his design, but sent his orders to that kingdom for restoring the honours and estates to all that had been condemned and

[r] Mercure Historique & Politique, A. D. 1702. Lamberti, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle XVIII. tom. ii. p. 2, 3. Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [s] Mercure Historique & Politique, Burnet's History of his own Times, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

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banished, and directed their palaces, that had been demolished, to be rebuilt at his expence; which conduct effectually gained him the hearts of that nation, as appeared afterwards in many instances[t]. At his leaving Naples, he granted an amnesty to all who had been concerned in the late troubles; which had not the same effect, though it created a great joy for the present.

Proceeds to the duchy of Milan, joins the duke of Vendosme, and fights the battle of Luzara.

He quitted that capital on the 2d of June, went by sea to Leghorn, and proceeded from thence by land to Milan, where he arrived on the 18th of the same month. He repaired from thence to the army, and intended an interview with his father-in-law, who avoided it, by pretending some disgust in respect to the ceremonial, to decline taking the command of the army, because he had privately changed sides. The king, having joined the duke of Vendosme, was present in the action at Luzara on the 15th of August; the Imperialists were commanded by prince Eugene, who was very near surprising and destroying the whole army of the two crowns. This engagement lasted till one in the morning. King Philip was in the right-wing, with the marshal de Crequi, who was killed there. The fire was prodigiously warm; and he gave upon that occasion not only the highest testimonies of personal courage, but of patience also, being near forty-eight hours on horseback, and almost the whole time without any refreshment. Each side sung Te Deum, and claimed the victory; the slaughter was great on both; but in reality the advantage was on the side of the two crowns, for the next day they took Lazara, with all the enemy's magazines; Guastalla, after a siege of ten days, in which there was a garrison of eighteen hundred men; and soon after Burgoforte, during the siege of which king Philip exposed himself in the trenches, encouraged the soldiers by his liberality, and at length made the garrison, which consisted of four thousand five hundred men, prisoners of war. The campaign being over, the king resolved to return by the way of France into Spain, where his presence was become highly requisite[u]; through that spirit of discontent and intrigue spread throughout the kingdom.

The queen opened the states of the kingdom of Arragon, and leaving them sitting at Saragossa, proceeded to

[t] Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [u] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. Burnet's History of his own Times.

Madrid,

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Madrid, where her arrival created great joy, and prevented that spirit of intrigue, which began to prevail, from breaking out into open insurrection, as otherwise it would have done, upon the appearance of the fleet of the allies before Cadiz [w]. As soon as the news came, the queen declared in a council of regency, that she was ready to go into Andalusia, if that could be of any use; and offered all her jewels to be sold, if money was wanting. This declaration had a great effect; cardinal Portocarrero raised and paid six squadrons of horse, and the bishop of Cordova levied a regiment of foot at his own expence. The same firmness of the queen appeared after the misfortune at Vigo, where the marine of France was ruined, and where the Spaniards lost, by their own confession, to the value of eight millions of gold. The retreat of the admirante of Castile was a new misfortune; he had accepted the embassy to France, and, under colour of providing every thing requisite to discharge it with the utmost splendor, he raised immense sums of money, packed up a vast quantity of rich furniture and jewels, which, at a certain stage upon the road, filed off for Portugal, whither he retired with great secrecy, and made a kind of public entry into Lisbon, accompanied by about three hundred persons, and one hundred and fifty carriages, on the 23d of October [x]. In the mean time king Philip, having landed at Marseilles, continued his journey with all possible vigilance, and, passing directly into Catalonia, made his entry into Barcelona, on the 20th of September. From the time of his arrival in Spain, the powers of the regency ceased, and the deliberations of all the councils were transmitted to the king, before any resolutions were taken [y]. All this time cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, was at the head of affairs, and acted in all things as prime minister.

The queen's spirit and resolution of great service in a time of public distress.

About the middle of January, at the request of cardinal Portocarrero, the king returned to Madrid; the very same day the cardinal d'Etrees went thither likewise with the title of ambassador from his most Christian majesty. This prelate explained to him, pursuant to the intelligence they had received from France, the real intentions of the allies, and the certainty of his being attacked in his own dominions. Upon this intimation, king Philip thought proper to enforce the measures already resolved upon for recruiting the Spanish

A.D. 1702.

King Philip returns into Spain.

[w] Mercure Historique & Politique, History of Europe for 1702.
[x] Mercure Historique & Politique. [y] Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

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infantry, for remounting their cavalry, and for forming a numerous body of standing forces, under the title of troops of the household. Orders were likewise given in respect to the marine; and, that these necessary projects might be carried into execution with as much vigour as possible, he judged it requisite to make free with six or eight millions of what had been saved out of the galleons at Vigo. The council of the Indies, and the duke of Medina Cœli, who was at the head of it, remonstrated very strongly against this measure, but in vain. The French cardinal maintained, that a part might be taken to save the whole; and it was believed that the Spaniards were chiefly irritated by the sending immediately two millions into France, to indemnify the most Christian king for the loss of his ships at Vigo, and his subjects in some measure for the loss of their money. The duke de Medina Cœli resigned his employment; the Spanish cardinal quarrelled with the cardinal from France; and the king, to keep them in some measure quiet, was forced to dispatch business without either [z].

Cardinal Portocarrero quits the post of prime minister, and retires into the diocese of Toledo.

Orders came from France for the duchess of Braccaciano, better known by the name of the princess d'Ursins, to return to Rome, on account of her declaring, without any management, for cardinal Portocarrero. She was by birth a French woman, of the noble family of Tremouille, and had gained an unaccountable ascendency over both their majesties, insomuch that the queen fell sick upon the order, which was thereupon suspended [a]. In secret, both the cardinals gave Philip good advice; d'Etrees assured him, that it was impossible to preserve himself upon the throne, but by the assistance of his grandfather: that, through the weakness of the two last reigns, a spirit of faction had diffused itself amongst the grandees, which inclined many of them to postpone the public in favour of their private interest: that they began already to cabal; and that, without having a sufficient number of French troops upon whom he might rely, neither his crown nor his person could be safe. Cardinal Portocarrero treated these suspicions in general as unjust, but, however, did not oppose the measures that were suggested. He desired the king's leave to resign all his employments, on account of his age and infirmities, but assured him of his constant fidelity and best advice, insinuating, that a state of independency would put it more in his power to serve him, and that he might rely upon his integrity in a private as

[z] Burnet's History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique. [a] Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

well

well as in a public station; but, the king being unwilling to consent, this step was for some time retarded [b]. The commissioners appointed to enquire into the conduct of the admirante declared all his estates forfeited during his life, condemned him to perpetual banishment, and, to justify this sentence, acquitted him of treason. The court was not by any means satisfied with this qualification, apprehending that it would not sufficiently restrain those who still maintained a correspondence with him; being well informed of the nature and design of that correspondence, which greatly fortified the credit of that intelligence the French cardinal had given, and augmented the king's fears for what might happen, when the design of the allies came to be disclosed.

Admirante of Castile's dangerous intrigues, after his retreat into Portugal.

At the time of his retreat, the admirante acted with great address; he wrote a very respectful letter to the queen, in which he complained of the injuries done him by his enemies, and particularly of the cardinal of Toledo and the president of Castile, who had ruined him in the opinion of the king; and had projected an embassy to France, to force him out of that privacy in which he desired to live: that he had accepted this employment beneath his birth, that he might have an opportunity of getting out of their reach, with which view he retired into Portugal [c]. At the same time he sent back his secretary, with all the papers of the embassy: but these were all appearances; for at Lisbon he persuaded the ministers of the allies, that, if once the archduke was declared king of Spain, Philip might be with ease dethroned: that the greater part of the nobility, and the people in general, were in the interests of the house of Austria; and that it was not so much the succours of France, as the irresolution of the court of Vienna, that maintained Philip at Madrid. The king of Portugal having entered into the grand alliance, the admirante drew with his own hand the reasons for sending the archduke into Spain; which being insisted upon by the allies, at length induced the emperor Leopold, and his son the king of the Romans, to renounce, by a solemn act, dated the 11th of September, all their pretensions to this monarchy; in consequence of which, the archduke was the next day publicly declared king of Spain at Vienna, by the name of Charles III [d].

[b] Mercure Historique & Politique. [c] Histoire Generale d'Espagne, Mercure Historique & Politique, 1703, Burnet's History of his own Times. [d] Corps Universel Diplomatique, tom. viii. par. i. p. 133. History of Europe, for 1703.

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His correſpondence in Spain was certainly great; though it was managed with much ſecrecy, yet Philip and his miniſters diſcovered it in part, and ſuſpected more; upon which the admirante was at laſt attainted of treaſon, and Philip declared, that he would conſider as traitors all who had intercourſe with him of any kind. About this time the duke of Savoy, who, in the ſpring of the year, had complained, both at Paris and Madrid, of the calumnies ſpread to his prejudice, declared openly for the allies, a circumſtance which afflicted the queen extremely *. The court of France having recalled the cardinal d'Etrees, cardinal Portocarrero laid hold of that opportunity of executing his former reſolution; and accordingly reſigned all his offices, and retired. The elector of Bavaria was victorious in Germany, the Low Countries were ſtill preſerved, the duke of Vendoſme proſpered in Italy, and the duke of Savoy ſaw himſelf in danger of paying, with the loſs of his dominions, for deſerting the cauſe of the two crowns.

King Philip's ſtrict œconomy increaſes the number of the malcontents.

As king Philip thought it abſolutely neceſſary to have recourſe to the ſuccours offered him by his grandfather, and knowing how expedient it would be to have his finances in perfect order at the opening of a war, he gave in to the ſentiments of Mr. Orry, who had been ſent from France to aſſiſt him in matters of this nature, and who, amongſt other ſingular pieces of advice, ſuggeſted, that his revenues were but too well collected: that, to prevent the people from defrauding the king of his taxes, and to prevent their own officers from cheating, the Spaniſh miniſters had multiplied them to ſuch a degree, that what the king received was very trifling, in compariſon of what was levied; and that theſe retainers of the treaſury were more numerous, and coſt the king a greater ſum yearly, than all the effective troops in Spain. Upon this remonſtrance Philip demoliſhed that old fabric, and caſhiered the far greater part of theſe unneceſſary officers, a ſtep which, however, created a great clamour. This was heightened by ſuppreſſing all the titular offices about the court, which were either mere ſinecures, or ſuperfluous. But it was augmented to the higheſt degree, by obliging ſome of the old officers of the revenue, who made an improper diſplay of their wealth in times of ſuch confuſion, to make ſome proper offerings out of their abundance, to excuſe giving any account how they came by the reſt. About the middle of February the

A.D. 1704.

* Memoires de la Torre, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. Voltaire.

duke

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duke of Berwick arrived, who was to command the French auxiliaries, and a camp was marked out near Badajoz for thirty thouſand men. The king repaired thither in the beginning of March, in order to command his forces in perſon [f].

Archduke comes on board an Engliſh fleet, and aſſumes the title of Charles III.

In the mean time Charles III. was arrived in Portugal [g], where the admirante, not content with owning him, wrote a letter to pope Clement XI. in which he aſſerted king Charles's will to be a forgery, took to himſelf the ſhame of being concerned in that forgery, and affirmed, that there was a true will in favour of Charles III [h]. The king of Portugal and the new king of Spain publiſhed likewiſe their manifeſtoes; and, that he might have an equal ſhare in this paper war, Philip V. publiſhed his declaration likewiſe, by much the moſt moderate and the beſt drawn. In this he eſtabliſhed his right as derived from the fundamental laws of the kingdom; the teſtament of his uncle Charles II. made upon mature deliberation; and the choice of the whole kingdom teſtified in the moſt authentic manner. He obſerved, that he had been four years in poſſeſſion, and acknowleged by moſt of the powers of Europe, particularly by the crowns of Great Britain and Portugal, and by the ſtates general, though now embarked in a confederacy to dethrone him. In the cloſe he added, that if the alliance ſhould be increaſed, it was viſibly from motives of intereſt, certain ceſſions being made to the king of Portugal out of the territories of Spain, and others to the duke of Savoy out of the Italian dominions. King Philip took likewiſe this opportunity of bringing his couſin the duke of Orleans's proteſt upon the carpet, and eſtabliſhed the right of him and his poſterity to the ſucceſſion immediately after the duke of Berry, and before the archduke and the duke of Savoy [i]. As to the campaign, the operations of it were not very conſiderable, but, ſuch as they were, they turned to his advantage; he took and demoliſhed ſeveral places on the frontiers of Portugal, deſtroyed one half of the Engliſh and Dutch auxiliaries, and gave the people of Portugal a very ill impreſſion of the war. On the other hand, thoſe people were by no means pleaſed to ſee duke Schomberg and baron Fagel at the head of the troops; the former quarrelled with the king of Portugal, and the admirante with king Charles, about his father's arrears; and with a Spaniſh nobleman about his

[f] Quincy, Hiſt. Militaire de Louis XIV. Hiſtoire Generale d'Eſpagne. [g] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. [h] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, A. D. 1704. [i] Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. par. i. p. 154.

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notions, which he treated as visions and chimeras. However, the admirante's policy soon after served him in good stead with the two kings. He was restored to favour; and the earl of Galway was appointed to command the army, as the foreign general most acceptable to the troops [k].

Gibraltar taken by the English seamen, and naval fight off Malaga.

While the king made the campaign in the summer, the order that had been so long respited with regard to the princess of Ursins was carried into execution; and she retired on the 16th of April, to the inexpressible grief of the queen of Spain. The fleet of the allies, under the command of Sir George Rooke, having the prince of Darmstadt on board, and between three and four thousand regular troops, made an attempt upon Barcelona; but, through the care of the viceroy Don Francisco de Velasco, it proved ineffectual. They sailed from the coast of Catalonia in the beginning of June, and about two months after appeared before Gibraltar, which was furiously cannonaded. The prince of Darmstadt, with his troops, were landed on the isthmus; but the place was taken by the courage of the English seamen, under the command of the captains Whitaker and Jumper; and, indeed, it was no great wonder, the garrison consisting but of one hundred men [l]. The prince of Darmstadt was left with a strong garrison; and the fleet, on the 24th of August, engaged, at a small distance from Malaga, the navy of France, commanded by the count de Thoulouse. Both sides claimed the victory, to which neither had a clear title; but it was afterwards known that Sir George Rooke had so little ammunition, that his obliging the French fleet to retire added as much to his reputation as the most signal victory would have done, if it had been gained before the taking of Gibraltar [m].

Excessive honours conferred on marshal Tesse by King Philip.

The allies promised themselves much from the autumn campaign on the side of Portugal; both the kings, Don Pedro and Don Carlos were in the field; and the army of king Philip, commanded by marshal Berwick, was very thin; notwithstanding which advantage, they did little or nothing. This inactivity was in part owing to the disputes between Lord Galway and baron Fagel, partly to the hatred the Portuguese had to their heretic allies, but chiefly to their disappointment with respect to the Spaniards, who they ima-

[k] Histoire Gen. d'Espagne, Burnet's History of his own Times.
[l] Burnet's History of his own Times, Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Lamberti, Memoires, tom. iii, p. 324. [m] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par M. Voltaire.

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gined, would have deserted in great numbers; which was so far from being the case, that the peasants chose to have their villages burnt, rather than own king Charles. On the other hand, the duke of Berwick found himself so uneasy, that he demanded to be recalled; a request which was granted, and marshal Tesse sent in his stead. King Philip honoured him with the order of the Golden Fleece, created him grandee of Spain, and captain-general, with the same powers and appointments that Don Juan of Austria had enjoyed; all which, however, contributed nothing to his success. King Philip, even at Madrid, found himself surrounded by enemies; and though he was so fortunate as to discover their designs, yet he missed seizing the count de Cifuentes, by whom they were conducted, who acted in concert with the admirante of Castile, and in whom afterwards Charles III. principally confided [n], though the warmth of that nobleman's temper gave him frequent uneasiness.

In the present situation of his affairs, king Philip found it equally impracticable to defend his person and dominions, without imposing new taxes, and to levy those taxes without exciting continual murmurs, and in some places insurrections. The great aversion the Spaniards had to the French still subsisted, or rather increased, though they could not but be sensible, that the king went every day more and more into the Spanish customs, and had recourse to them out of pure necessity. Commerce in Spain was lost to such a degree, that king Philip was obliged to permit even his enemies to resume it, provided they made use of neutral vessels. In the midst of these distresses he made some great efforts. He fixed a fund for the maintenance of the army, and, when it was deficient, borrowed of the treasurer of the French troops; an expedient which, in spite of their ill-will, induced the Spanish officers to desire that the whole army might be put upon the same foot, and paid in the same way. He established household troops after the mode of his grandfather; and, by having Spanish, Italian, and Walloon guards, found means to draw many young men of the best houses to enter into the service. He likewise fixed a cabinet council, composed of persons upon whom he could depend; and into which Mr. Amelot, the French minister, was admitted, who, being of the long robe, and a very wise and grave man, became highly acceptable to the Spaniards.

A.D. 1705.

Siege of Gibraltar carried on with great obstinacy, and without effect.

[n] Mercure Hist. & Politique, Hist. Gen. d'Espagne.

Cardinal

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Cardinal Portocarrero, though he declined the high office of inquiſitor-general, gave the king all the aſſiſtance he could, and, as he had done from the beginning, rendered him all the ſervices in his power. The king and his miniſters, however, perſiſted in carrying on the ſiege of Gibraltar, which had been formed in the month of October, in the preceding year, by the marquis de Villadarias, and had been continued through the winter, at a vaſt expence of men and money, to very little purpoſe; for the prince of Darmſtadt, who defended it, was a good officer, a man of inflexible courage, and, having the ſea open, received continual ſupplies. Once, indeed, it might have been taken; for a peaſant ſhewed them a road at the back of the mountain, by which a detachment of five hundred men reached the top of it, and attacked the works, which were but ſlight on that ſide, ſo vigorouſly, that, if they had been properly ſupported, they muſt have carried the place. This error induced the king to ſend marſhal Teſſe to command the ſiege, and procured an order to baron Pontis to ſail thither with a ſquadron of five large men of war, notwithſtanding he repreſented how dangerous a ſtep they obliged him to take. He was quickly attacked by the Engliſh fleet, by whom three of his ſhips were taken, and he was forced to run the other two on ſhore. Upon this diſaſter, on the 23d of April the ſiege was raiſed [o].

Conſequences of the admirante's contrivances, to the time of his deceaſe.

While the Spaniſh army was employed in the fruitleſs ſiege of Gibraltar, the Portugueſe and their allies were in the field with ſcarce any force to oppoſe them. The firſt place they inveſted was Salvaterra, the governor of which, having made his terms with the admirante, no ſooner received his money, than he opened the gates; but his garriſon, conſiſting of four hundred and thirty men, choſe to be conducted priſoners to Liſbon, rather than take arms againſt king Philip. Valencia de Alcantara was the next, where Don Alonſo de Mariaga commanded, with a garriſon of three hundred and fifty men, ſtrong by ſituation, but ill fortified; it made a gallant, indeed a wonderful defence; for the governor ſtood five aſſaults, the laſt of which continued ſeveral hours. When he ſurrendered, there were but one hundred and twelve men left; and theſe, being diſarmed, and ſent priſoners under a guard of a troop of horſe, ſeized the arms of their eſcort while they

[o] Quincy, Hiſt. Militaire de Louis XIV. Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Memoires de la Torre, tom. iv. p. 204.

were

were at dinner, and, with the assistance of their horses, made their escape to a man. Albuquerque in Estremadura was taken after seven days open trenches. And thus ended the summer campaign, during which, however, king Philip met with misfortunes that chagrined him much more than the sense of his losses. The effects of the admirante's correspondencies produced these apprehensions. A plot was discovered at Granada, managed by a physician and a monk, for cutting the throats of the garrison; another of the same kind was detected at Valencia, by mere accident; both fixed the design to the 11th of June: at length the capital conspiracy came to be known, or rather suspected, for it was never clearly made out; the scheme was, to seize the persons of the king and queen at Buen Retiro, and to carry them prisoners to Lisbon, or, if that was found impracticable, to stab them by the way. As the marquis de Leganez was governor of Buen Retiro, and as he had desired leave to make a tour to his estates in the country at the time the design was to have been executed, it drew a suspicion upon him, though he was universally allowed to be the finest gentleman, one of the ablest statesmen, and one of the best officers, in Spain. He was arrested coming out of the king's apartment, and sent prisoner to Pampeluna, from thence removed into France, and at length suffered to reside in his own house at Paris, where he lived in universal esteem to the time of his decease, which was about six years after [p]. The miscarriage of this design, accompanied with some reproaches from some of those to whose interest he had sacrificed his own, broke the heart of the admirante [q] on the 23d of June, at Lisbon, to the no small satisfaction of the court of Madrid, where, however he might be ridiculed and despised by others, they stood at least in as great fear of his artifices as of the arms of the allies, nor were they intirely delivered from the effects of them even by his death (B).

[p] Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Quincy, Mercure Historique & Politique.

[q] Burnet's History of his own Times, tom. ii. p. 419.

A grand

(B) The titles of this extraordinary person, somewhat more at large, run thus: Don Juan Enriquez de Cabrera, seventh duke of Medina de Rio Seco, eleventh admiral of Castile, count of Melgar, Modica, and Cabrera. Don Fadrique, or Frederick, twin brother to Don Henry the Second,

Barcelona taken by the allies, and becomes the seat of Charles the Third's government.

A grand fleet of the allies, commanded by the earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, having taken Charles the Third on board at Lisbon, sailed for the coast of Catalonia, where some places revolted in his favour, and where they landed a body of ten thousand men, between Barcelona and Palamos; and, being joined by a considerable number of Miquelets, broke ground before Barcelona on the 28th of August. Don Francisco de Ve-

cond, king of Castile, the son of Don Alonso the Eleventh, by the famous Donna Leonora de Guzman, was the founder of this family, and was the father of Don Alonso Enriquez, though it is not clear who was his mother. Henry the Third conferred upon him the office of admirante of Castile; Don Juan the Second created Frederic Enriquez, the son of Alonso, conde de Melgar; and the emperor Charles the Fifth made Don Ferdinand Enriquez, who was the grandson of Don Frederic, duke of Medina de Rio Seco. But the title of admirante was held so much more honourable, that the rest were hardly ever mentioned (1). This nobleman, in his father's life-time, bore the title of Conde de Melgar, and was esteemed one of the ablest persons in the court of Charles the Second, had the government of Milan bestowed upon him, and stood so high in the favour of his last queen, that for some time he was in a manner absolute at court. The fierceness of his temper, and the haughtiness of his disposition, made him so many enemies, that he was driven from court in spite of all the interest of his protectress. He had the greatest personal enmity possible to cardinal Portocarrero, opposed him in every thing, and attached himself openly, and with great vehemence, to the interests of the house of Austria (2). He had a graceful person, great courage, and prodigious capacity (3). He was strictly and properly the author of the war in Spain; and though some great men have treated him as a wild, chimerical, visionary politician, and condemned his projects as romantic and impracticable, yet, to do him justice, he had most amazing talents, and bid very fair, by his contrivances, for expelling the king he had left, and setting upon the throne the prince whose claim he espoused; but when he saw how little he was considered by those for whom he had done so much, and how obstinate they were in undoing all that he had done, grief, indignation, and resentment, first broke his temper, and then his heart.

(1) Etat present de l'Espagne, par l'Abbe de Vayrac, tom. iv. p. 162. (2) Memoires de la Torres, Histoire de la Cour de Madrid. Mercure Historique & Politique. (3) Lord Bolingbroke's Letters on the Use of History, vol. ii. p. 87.

lasco,

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Iaſco, viceroy for king Philip, having but a ſlender garriſon, ſummoned the inhabitants, and told them, that he would deal fairly by them; and that if any perſon was inclined in his ſentiments to the oppoſite party, he ſhould have free leave to go out; but that, if he diſcovered any treachery afterwards, he would puniſh it with the utmoſt ſeverity; but none accepted of this propoſal. It was however believed, that the prince of Heſſe had engaged the governor of Montjuic to make the reduction of that fortreſs no difficult enterprize; but the viceroy fruſtrated this engagement by hanging the governor, and changing the garriſon. When the prince came to make the attack, he met with an obſtinate reſiſtance, in which he himſelf and four or five hundred Engliſh were killed. The Spaniards are perſuaded, that this incident loſt them the place; for they affirm, that, when the earl of Peterborough heard the prince of Darmſtadt was killed, he ſuffered himſelf to ſay, "Then Barcelona is to be taken;" and, rallying the troops in perſon, with the aſſiſtance of freſh reinforcements, he attacked and carried the fortreſs. Upon this event, the inhabitants diſcovered their real ſentiments, and compelled the viceroy to give up the place by capitulation, on the 9th of October [e]. He was conſtrained to demand the earl of Peterborough's protection, to prevent his ſharing the ſame fate with his deputy, who was murdered by the inhabitants. All Catalonia, Roſes only excepted, declared for king Charles, and the greateſt part of the kingdom of Valencia followed their example [f]. The autumn campaign on the ſide of Portugal was more favourable to king Philip; for marſhal Teſſe forced the marquis las Minas to raiſe the ſiege of Badajoz, where the earl of Galway loſt his right arm, and where the generals of the allies differed ſo much amongſt themſelves, that Baron Fagel procured himſelf to be recalled. The princeſs of Urſins returned this year into Spain, and the king and queen went ſome miles out of Madrid to receive her; and, which is ſtranger, the French court made her very rich preſents, to pacify that reſentment which her ſhort exile might have raiſed [g]. Theſe, however, made but very little impreſſion.

[e] Quincy Hiſtoire Milit. de Louis XIV. Lamberti, Memoires, tom. iii. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain, by John Friend, M. D. p. 44. [f] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique. [g] Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times.

On

A.D. 1706. On the loſs of Barcelona the friends and the enemies of king Philip began to doubt what turn affairs might take, more eſpecially as a great part of Arragon, and almoſt all Valentia, gave evident proofs of their inclination to revolt in favour of his competitor. But they began to recover their ſpirits at Madrid, when it was known what efforts France was determined to make on their behalf. It was then reſolved that king Philip ſhould march in perſon with the army into Catalonia, in order to beſiege Barcelona, while the count de Tholouſe, with the French fleet, blocked it up by ſea; and that the duke of Berwick, with a ſmall army, ſhould watch the motions of the Portugueſe, while the duke de Noailles entered Catalonia on the ſide of France with ſeven or eight thouſand men, in order to hinder the Catalans from diſturbing the ſiege. The queen was to be again left regent in worſe circumſtances than ever; for, in reality, ſhe was as much expoſed in the capital as her conſort at the head of his army. The plan was certainly well laid; and, notwithſtanding all her loſſes, France took care, that on her ſide it ſhould be well executed; for the duke of Noailles was early in the field, as the count de Thoulouſe was at ſea; but it was out of the power of king Philip to be ſo expeditious. The count de la Torres, indeed, took Villa Real in the beginning of January, and the king put himſelf at the head of his army before the end of February; and yet, through a ſeries of unlucky accidents, the month of April was begun before he arrived in ſight of Barcelona with an army of twenty thouſand men, commanded under him by marſhal Teſſe, abundantly ſupplied with artillery, ammunition, and other neceſſaries from the fleet. This was one of the moſt remarkable ſieges in the preſent century, ſince Charles the Third perſiſted in his reſolution of remaining in the place, where he had a ſtrong garriſon, and a flying camp under the earl of Peterborough in the neighbourhood. The trenches were opened on the 6th of April; on the 20th of the ſame month the Catalans found themſelves obliged to abandon Monjuic, from which the loſs of the city ſeemed inevitable. But the king's perſon ſo animated the beſieged, though he was almoſt every day perplexed in pacifying their quarrels, that it held out till the 8th of May, when the fleet of the allies, under the command of vice admiral Leake, appeared upon the coaſt, a circumſtance which obliged the count of Tholouſe to withdraw with his ſquadron; notwithſtanding which the army continued the ſiege till the 13th, when it was raiſed, with

Beſieged by king Philip and marſhal Teſſe to very little purpoſe.

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with the mortifying circumstance of leaving not only their artillery and magazines, but also their hospitals, with a vast number of sick and wounded. These were recommended to the clemency of the earl of Peterborough, who treated them with the same care and kindness as if they had been his own. This was the greatest misfortune that Philip had hitherto sustained; the rather, because he was obliged to take a vast compass in his retreat, and that the reputation both of the Spanish and French officers suffered by it exceedingly; while, on the other hand, the allies gained great advantage, and the resolution of Charles, by which, out of all doubt, Barcelona was preserved, did him great honour in the eyes of Europe [u].

The army of the allies, with the troops of Portugal, make themselves masters of Madrid.

As the allies had made prodigious efforts to augment their forces in Portugal, and as the army commanded by the duke of Berwick was very weak, the marquis de las Minas and the earl of Galway, having taken possession of Alcantara, resolved to attack Ciudad Rodrigo; which design being accomplished, and having received the acceptable news of raising the siege of Barcelona, they continued their march to Salamanca, of which they became masters on the 7th of June [w]. It being evident that they intended to push their good fortune, and to make themselves masters of Madrid, the French ambassador, M. Amelot, held a kind of general assembly of the grandees, in which he desired them to explain themselves clearly, for that his most Christian majesty did not desire to impose his grandson upon them; and, if he did, his circumstances at that time left it no way in his power; so that it was become both expedient and necessary for them to consider for whom, and in what manner, they would act for restoring peace, and the blessings of a legal government to their country. The duke de Medina Coeli answered, in the name of the grandees, that though they wanted not some reasons of complaint arising from the slights they had received, and from the too great influence of the princess of Ursins, yet their affections continued inviolable to king Philip, for whose service they were willing to do all that lay in their power. The king himself arrived about this time, having left the remains of his

[u] Memoires du Marquis de Feuquieres, tom. iv. p. 111. Quincy, Lamberti, tom. iv. p. 146. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain, p. 59. [w] Memoires de la Torre, Larrey, Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV.

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army in Navarre. After mature deliberation he sent away the queen and her family to Burgos, on the 18th of the same month, under a good escort, and took the same route himself the next day [x].

By the dilatoriness of Charles the Third, king Philip recovers his capital.

The army of the allies, upon his retreat, entered, and took possession of Madrid, after having sent express upon express to invite king Charles to come thither without delay; but that monarch being engaged in the reduction of the kingdom of Arragon, and being desirous of making his public entry into Saragossa, made less haste than they expected, and the earl of Peterborough being also busy in subduing Valencia, they found their hopes frustrated of seeing their whole forces united while they were masters of the capital [y]. They had, however, the satisfaction of learning that Carthagena and Alicant were subdued, and of seeing Toledo for some days in their power. But the scene was quickly changed through the activity of king Philip, and the abilities of the duke of Berwick, who, after retreating far enough to be joined by the troops from Navarre, and being by that junction become superior to the allies, began in their turn to advance towards Madrid, which, for want of subsistence, the allies were forced to quit, and to retreat to the strong camp of Guadalaxara, where they were joined by king Charles, and soon after by the earl of Peterborough. Nevertheless, through the weakness of their forces, or misintelligence amongst their generals, they still continued their retreat, which gave the duke of Berwick an opportunity of penetrating with his army into Valencia, while king Philip returned to Madrid, into which he made his public entry on the 22d of September. One of the first steps taken upon his return was, to send the duke of Ossuna, with a troop of guards, to remove the queen-dowager from Toledo, and to conduct her to Burgos. The people of the first mentioned city had taken it into their heads, that she invited the Portuguese into Castile; and this afforded the court a pretence, under colour of providing for her safety, to carry her first to Burgos, and from thence to Bayonne, where she was received with all possible testimonies of joy and respect, and where she lived in great tranquility upon her annuity of four hundred thousand pieces of eight [z].

x Mercure Historique & Politiq. A. D. 1706. Quincy, Histoire Militaire, tom. v. p. 282. Larrey, Histoire Generale d'Espagne. y Burnet's History of his own Times, tom. ii. p. 448, 449. z Histoire generale d'Espagne, Mercure Historique & Politique, Burnet.

Before

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Before the end of the year count Mahony, who had gallantly defended Alicant, made himself master of Carthagena, and the marquis de Baye recovered Alcantara from the Portuguese. These small successes, however, made no amends for the loss of the islands of Majorca and Ivica, of the Low Countries, in consequence of the battle of Ramillies, and of the duchy of Milan, which followed upon the defeat of the army of the two crowns before Turin [a].

It must be allowed that king Philip, by the advice probably of cardinal Portocarrero, availed himself prodigiously, at the beginning of this year, of those disgraces which had been suffered in the last. He confiscated the estates of the conde de Oropesa, the conde de Cardona, the conde de Cifuentes, and, in general, of all the nobility that had declared for Charles III. and obliged their families to quit Castile, and retire to Barcelona; which conduct was alleged to be a necessary severity, to prevent that kind of intelligence which might have been fatal to his affairs [b]. He annexed several hereditary offices of great profit to the crown, a measure which, though at any other time it would have been liable to censure, was now applauded. He drew great sums from the clergy by an adroit management of the danger they were under, if the arms of heretics should prevail. He solicited the voluntary assistance of his subjects, and accepted very graciously the smallest marks of it either in money or in men [c]. Some fortunate circumstances concurred with these endeavours; a few ships from America arrived safely at Brest, and they brought a free gift of a million from the duke of Albuquerque, as a testimony of his subjects loyalty. The count de Villars, brother to the marshal, recovered the island of Minorca, which had revolted; and the queen's pregnancy was declared, which filled the people with joy and hopes [d]. On the 18th of April the duke of Orleans, afterwards regent of France, arrived at Madrid, where the king caused him to be received as an infant of Castile [e].

A.D. 1707.

Methods pursued by him in order to re-establish his affairs.

Marshal Berwick was in the field with the army, to prevent the enemy from returning into Castile, and, when joined by the troops he expected, to proceed in the conquest of the kingdom of Valencia. The marquis de las

[a] Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Histoire generale d' Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire. [b] Mercure Historique & Politique, A. D. 1707. [c] Hist. Gen. d'Espagne. [d] Mercure Historique & Politique. [e] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.

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Minas and the earl of Galway, with about sixteen thousand horse and foot, began the campaign early, in hopes of destroying the Spanish magazines, and covering the kingdom of Valencia. They did destroy several magazines, which they had better have kept, since they afterwards resolved to besiege the castle of Villuna. It was a place of little strength, and no great consequence, yet the duke of Berwick marched to relieve it, for he knew the allies wanted subsistence, and thought their retreat before him would raise the spirits of his soldiers, and add reputation to his arms. The earl of Galway was for fighting, and prevailed upon the other generals to come into his opinion; upon which they advanced into the plain of Almanza, where they attacked the duke of Berwick on the 25th of April. The English troops, at the beginning of the action, penetrated through the center of the Spanish army; but the Spanish cavalry having broken the Portuguese, and the French infantry making a dreadful fire upon their flanks, the army of the allies was at last broke, and, when it was almost dark, began their retreat. Colonel Hill carried off the remains of thirteen battalions towards the river Xucar, which, if they could have passed, they might have been safe; but as they marched in the morning as soon as it was light, and had fought till it was dark, their fatigue obliged them to halt; and this stop gave the Spaniards an opportunity to surround them, so that they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. In short, the victory was complete; there was a great number killed and wounded, several thousands were taken prisoners, many of whom were French, who had taken service with the allies after the defeats of Hochstet and Ramillies, and who returning to their standards, replaced those who had fallen in the battle. The marquis de las Minas was dangerously wounded, and his mistress, in the garb of an Amazon, killed by his side. The earl of Galway had two cuts across the face, which, though not dangerous, hindered him from seeing or giving orders. One hundred and twenty standards, with all the artillery and baggage, were taken. The duke of Orleans, though he did not arrive time enough to have a share in the battle, came very opportunely to improve its consequences, and, in that respect, did all that could be desired [a].

Marshal Berwick beats the army of the allies in the plains of Almanza.

The town of Requena was the first that surrendered to the duke of Orleans; this example was followed by the

[a] Burnet's History of his own Times, Limiers, &c.

capital

capital and moſt other places in Valencia, except Xativa, Denia, and Alicant. The duke then entered the kingdom of Arragon, where Saragoſſa opened its gates on the 25th. The duke of Noailles recovered Cerdagna, and the marquis de Baye retook Caſtel Roderigo from the Portugueſe. Thus the kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon were once more obliged to own Don Philip, who made them pay very ſeverely for embracing the cauſe of his competitor; and for ſome affront which they had offered to his government, the city of Saragoſſa was obliged to pay forty-five thouſand piſtoles, and the reſt of the kingdom ninety thouſand [g]. In Valencia, the town and caſtle of Xativa being reduced, the whole place was burnt down, except the church, and one hundred and thirty houſes belonging to thoſe who had been diſarmed, and made priſoners, for not concurring with the reſt, and a column of infamy erected; but theſe were ſlight puniſhments in compariſon of depriving both the kingdoms of their conſtitution, and ſubjecting them for the future to the laws of Caſtile. This ſtep was taken by a decree dated the 29th of June, which was ſoftened by another dated the 29th of July, by which the nobility of Arragon and Valencia were rendered capable of all offices and honours throughout the king's dominions, and leave was given to rebuild the town of Xativa, under the name of St. Philip [h].

The kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia reduced, and deprived of their privileges.

On the 25th of Auguſt the queen was delivered of a prince, who was baptized by the name of Lewis, and immediately acknowleged preſumptive heir apparent of the crown of Caſtile and its dependencies. Cardinal Portocarrero, upon this occaſion, made a preſent of five thouſand piſtoles to the king's treaſury; his example was followed by moſt of the grandees, and all the cities and great towns. Some of the nobility, who had withdrawn themſelves, took this opportunity of making their peace; king Philip accepted their preſents, and ordered the duke of Infantado to be releaſed. He recalled the conde de Lemos, the marquis del Carpio, and the reſt of the exiles. He diſpatched the firſt courier with the news to the queen-dowager at Bayonne, who made public rejoicings for three days, and ſent two gentlemen to compliment their majeſties, with very rich preſents for the queen and prince. On the 13th of October, Lerida ſurrendered to

Prince of Aſturias born, to the great joy of the Spaniſh nation.

[g] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Quincy, Burnet, Limiers.
[h] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

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the duke of Orleans, as the caſtle capitulated a month after, on the very day that, through the intrigues of the princeſs of Urſins, he received the king's orders to raiſe the ſiege; and the beginning of the month following he ſet out for Paris [l]. About this time Charles III. eſpouſed the princeſs of Wolfenbuttle, and by his return from the army to Barcelona, ſtifled a dangerous ſedition, occaſioned by the people's apprehenſions that they were abandoned, and that Catalonia would be expoſed to the ſame chaſtiſements the people of Arragon and Valencia had endured. This year alſo the kingdom of Naples revolted. The duke of Eſcalona, being taken in Gaeta by count Daun, was expoſed on horſeback, through the ſtreets of Naples, to the inſults of the populace, and then thruſt into priſon, though he was a nobleman of the moſt unſpotted character, and one who had never enriched himſelf at their expence. This revolution, though it coſt Spain dear, ſaved Toulon, which was perhaps of equal conſequence even to king Philip [k].

A.D.1708. *Duke of Orleans commands the king's troops with ſucceſs, and yet diſpleaſes him.*

At the opening of this year the court of Madrid was very ſenſibly chagrined by the loſs of the fortreſs of Oran, which for ſo many years had been defended againſt the Moors. This was owing to the deſertion of the count of Santa Cruz, who carried the ſmall ſquadron, and little body of troops, with which he was entruſted for its relief, to Charles III. at Barcelona [l]. The duke of Orleans obtained at Paris a ſupply of five millions, for the ſervice of Spain, and carried back to Madrid the crown jewels, which had been ſent into France, when their majeſties were obliged to leave Madrid. The duke, when he came to the army, found things in a condition very different from what he expected, and was farther diſappointed by the loſs of a great convoy of proviſions and ammunition, the greateſt part of which was taken by the Engliſh fleet [m]. The ſame fleet landed at Barcelona count Starembergh, an officer of great abilities and reputation, who immediately took the command of the troops in Catalonia, and diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner, as to give the duke of Orleans abundance of trouble. This did not, however, hinder that prince from beſieging Tortoſa, a large place, well fortified, and exceedingly ſtrong by ſituation. The

[l] Quincy, Limiers, Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. [k] Memoires de la Torre, tom. v. p. 57. Burnet. [l] Mercure Hiſtorique & Chronologique. [m] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne. Quincy.

ſiege

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siege was carried on slowly and cautiously; for, on one side, his royal highness was extremely sparing of men's lives, and, on the other, he respected the neighbourhood of count Starembergh, which obliged him to be constantly on his guard. On the 11th of July the place was taken, notwithstanding the duke received scarce any assistance from Madrid, where the princess of Ursins had insinuated to Philip, that he had as much to fear from the duke of Orleans as from Charles III. and though it is said the king was afterwards disabused upon this head, yet, on the duke's return from the campaign, he met with so dry a reception, that he quickly set out for Paris[n]. The chevalier de Arsfeldt took Denia by storm, and put all the garrison, and a great part of the people, to the sword. He afterwards besieged Alicant, which was surrendered upon honourable terms; but being informed, that the Spanish troops in Minorca had been put under arrest on account of what he had done at Xativa, he sent a detachment of horse after the garrison of Alicant, and seized them in like manner. At Barcelona, Charles III. received his new queen in a very pompous manner; soon after which ceremony the duke de Moles was declared his prime minister in the room of the count de Oropesa, who died suddenly[o]. The intrigues of his party, but more especially the monks, caused an insurrection in Sardinia; so that the marquis of Jamaica, the governor of it, finding himself abandoned, embraced the offer of an English admiral to carry him to Spain on board his fleet. He was first brought to Barcelona, where king Charles would willingly have detained him, but, insisting on his capitulation, he was allowed to go to Madrid, where, to the amazement of Philip's court, he was very well received. General Stanhope, without any great difficulty, made himself master of the island of Minorca; and no endeavours were spared to bring about a revolution in Sicily; upon which count Mahoni was sent thither with a considerable force. Count Starembergh, who knew his army too weak to prevent the duke of Orleans taking Tortosa, thought it strong enough to attempt the recovery of that important place; but, through the care and courage of the governor, he was repulsed, though the attack cost

[n] Mercure Hist. & Chronolog. Quincy, Hist. Militaire de Louis XIV. [o] Lamberti, Memoires, tom. v. p. 163. Hist. generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

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that brave man his life. There was no action this year on the side of Portugal; but, to console king Philip for the losses he had sustained, the galleons arrived safe, by which he acquired twelve hundred thousand pieces of eight, exclusive of nine hundred thousand sent as a present to the young prince of Asturias, whose birth had already brought him many other advantages, and of whom the Spaniards were so fond, that he was forced to be shewn to them from the balcony of the palace, when he was scarce a week old [p].

A.D 1709. It had been the misfortune of king Philip to be distressed from the very beginning of his reign, in point of revenues; and this distress had gone on increasing, notwithstanding all the methods that could be devised to prevent it, till, at the beginning of this year, things were found in such a situation, that it was equally difficult to find recruits for the army, or subsistence for those regiments that wanted recruits. In all other respects the king's affairs were equally embarrassed; so that cardinal Portocarrero, and the grandees most sincerely attached to his interest, could testify their attachment no other way than by giving him, as they did, the strongest assurances that they would perish with him. Out of this distress his enemies delivered him; his grandfather consented to treat of a peace, and the terms prescribed to him were, to treat of it on the foot of abandoning his grandson. He was compelled to submit, and exclusive of the negociation, his necessities were such, that he could no longer yield him any supplies, and was constrained to withdraw part of his forces. Cardinal Portocarrero hinted to king Philip, that he should seize this opportunity of putting his affairs entirely on a Spanish bottom. The king took his advice; the duke de Medina Cœli was declared prime minister; the marquis de Bedmar secretary at war; the French ambassador was excluded from council, and sent home; some domestics of the duke of Orleans were arrested, imprisoned, and treated with great severity. To complete all, as soon as the preliminaries were made public, and dispersed by the allies, king Philip addressed circular letters to his subjects, penned with great plainness, and in terms the most pathetic. In this he exaggerated the hardships put upon his grandfather, not only to abandon him absolutely, but

King Philip puts himself on the affections of his own people.

[p] Memoires de la Torre, Histoire Chronologique, Histoire Gen. de Espagne.

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to assist in dethroning him: yet in this, he said, the allies did him honour, since it shewed their opinion that he would defend himself to the last extremity, which he assured them was his intention, and that he was resolved to die at the head of the last Spanish squadron, and to tinge the dear earth of Castile with his blood. This declaration had its effect; for his enthusiasm diffused itself through the whole nation. The general assembly of the clergy not only granted a free gift, but the prelates, and those who were able, paid it upon the spot. The nobility sent their plate to be coined; the middle and the common sort of people acted with the like spirit, for the king had told them in his letter, that the allies had promised the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal handsome rewards out of the Spanish dominions; that the emperor would take what he pleased, and that the archduke was to be content with the rest, upon such terms as those who conquered it for them should be inclined to dictate. The putting things into this form was the last service rendered by cardinal Portocarrero, who died in the month of September, at the age of seventy-four, and was succeeded in the see of Toledo by Don Antonio Ibamiez, archbishop of Saragossa, and inquisitor-general [q]. In respect to military affairs there happened nothing material. Marshal Berzons commanded the army of the two crowns, and he had instructions from Lewis XIV. not to act offensively. Count Starembergh, with his army, passed two rivers in his sight; upon which king Philip wrote the marshal a very severe letter, and went in person to the army, where, though he was able to do nothing, yet this stroke of vivacity pleased the Spaniards highly. However, the castle of Alicant, after a blockade of several months, surrendered to the chevalier d'Arsfeldt; and the marquis de Baye defeated the earl of Galway and the Portuguese army in the plain of Gudina, and made fifteen hundred prisoners, an event which prevented their besieging Badajoz. Vast levies were made, and all possible precautions taken in the winter, to act with the greatest vigour in the spring, more especially in Catalonia, where king Charles was master only of Barcelona, Gironne, and Tarragona, covered

[q] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Larrey, Memoires de la Torre, Mercure Historique & Politique, A. D. 1709. Histoire Generale d'Espagne, Histoire Chronologique, Burnet's History of his own Times.

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by the small army of count Starembergh, who very wisely waited for supplies [r].

A D. 1710. At the opening of the year, monsieur d'Iberville arrived at Madrid, with the title of envoy extraordinary from his most Christian majesty: the king received him in public but very coldly, and, upon his demanding a private audience, referred him to the duke of Medina Cœli. The business of this minister was to qualify the offer that his master had made, of depositing cautionary towns in the hands of the States, till his grandson was driven out of Spain, and to furnish the expences of the war. His stay was but short; king Philip withdrew his countenance from the French; and the queen, giving way to her resentment, went somewhat farther, and treated them so ill, that some returned home [s]. Philip did not think fit to publish another circular letter; but, in a short edict for raising recruits, he declared that his sole resources were the unshaken fidelity and heroic courage of the Spanish nation [t]. There wanted not some, however, who insinuated, that he used this language only in compliance with his circumstances; but it fell out luckily, that the flotilla arrived on the 2d of March at Cadiz, with about ten millions on board. Two of these ships were French, and were very desirous of sailing home with their cargoes, which, however, the king obliged them to land, and insisted upon an extraordinary indulto, which the captains refusing to pay, they were put in prison. These proceedings gratified the Spaniards extremely; and the king drew out of the money about two millions, which were of inexpressible service at that juncture. It was resolved that the marquis de Baye should command in Estremadura against the Portuguese; and the marquis de Villadarias conducted the grand army in Catalonia, which consisted of twenty-three thousand men, under the king, who resolved to make the campaign in person. The marquis set out from Madrid on the 15th of April, in the evening of which day there happened a very extraordinary event. About eight at night the king sent for the duke of Medina Cœli into his cabinet, and, after having conferred with him for some time, directed him to go to the secretary of state's office about certain dispatches. The duke no sooner went thither, than he was arrested, and conducted in a

The prime minister, the duke de Medina Cœli, convicted of treason.

[r] Quincy, Memoires de la Torre, Burnet's History of his own Times, Larrey, Limieres, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. [s] Mercure Historique & Politique, A. D. 1710. [t] Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

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coach and ſix out of town, to a caſtle on the road to Segovia. When the officer parted from him, he furniſhed him with a night-gown, a box of chocolate, a purſe with a hundred piſtoles, and ſome other neceſſaries; for which civility, when the duke teſtified great acknowlegements, the officer told him they belonged to the king, who had taken care to provide them for his accommodation. As this nobleman was prime miniſter, and governor to the prince of Aſturias, this affair made a very great noiſe; and it was ſaid that he had undertaken to betray the king or the prince into the hands of their enemies [u]. It is certain that his misfortune aroſe from a letter delivered to the king by the confeſſor of the marquis of Aſtorga, who died that morning, and whoſe ſiſter the duke married. The junto appointed to examine his papers condemned him four months after to ſuffer death, for giving intelligence to the king's enemies, particularly with reſpect to the real intentions of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; but the king changed this ſentence into impriſonment, and, being transferred from Segovia to Pampeluna, and thence to Fontarabia, he there ended his days [x].

King Philip's army totally defeated near Saragoſſa, by count Starembergh.

This ſtrange affair prevented the king from going ſo ſoon to the army as otherwiſe he would have done; and, when he went thither, he found the weather ſo bad, that he was able to make but little uſe of his ſuperiority over count Starembergh. However, he took Cervera, where he found a magazine of cloaths and linen for four thouſand men; but he was not able to make the ſiege of Balaguer. After count Staremberg had received the ſupplies he expected, the face of affairs quickly changed, and he began to act offenſively. A part of Philip's forces received a ſevere check at Almanara, by the vigour and good conduct of general Stanhope; which gave the king ſo indifferent an opinion of the marquis of Villadarias, that he ſent for the marquis de Baye, and gave him the command of the army, which, for want of ſubſiſtence, was obliged to march to Saragoſſa. Near that city, on the 20th of Auguſt, they were defeated by count Starembergh [y]. The armies were nearly equal, and neither of the kings were in the action; for Philip was ill of a fever, and the generals of Charles III. would not ſuffer him to expoſe his perſon. The marquis de Baye made the beſt retreat he could to

[u] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, Hiſtory of Europe for the Year 1719, Hiſtoire Generale d'Eſpagne. [x] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique. [y] Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

Lerida,

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Lerida, where, after some days, he assembled about nine thousand men; but the king immediately set out for Madrid, where, notwithstanding his misfortune, he was received with great joy. Upon the news, however, that the allies were in full march for that capital, he found it necessary to quit it with his queen and family, followed by all the grandees and councils, on the 9th of September[z]. The marquis de Baye, as soon as his troops were in a condition to move, prosecuted his march to Tudela, on the side of Navarre, where, by the activity of the count d'Aguilar, the army was recruited in a very surprising short space of time; and the duke of Vendosme, having arrived from France, began to advance towards Valladolid with an escort of about three thousand horse, which king Philip withdrew from the army in Andalusia.

Charles III. takes possession of Madrid and Toledo, but is not able to keep them.

It is impossible for human wisdom to foresee the consequences of great events, and, whatever politicians might afterwards pretend, it was impossible they should so much as suspect that the battle of Saragossa would prove the ruin of his competitor's affairs, and become the means of fixing Philip V. upon the throne; and yet this was actually the case. General Stanhope vehemently pressed marching directly to Madrid, to which measure it is said neither king Charles nor count Starembergh were inclined, as having no magazines, and being to march through a country so disaffected, that the people burnt their corn, and starved themselves, to prevent the allies from having any thing to eat. General Stanhope prevailed, and the march was resolved on. He took it for granted that the Portugueſe army would advance and join them, and that this junction might have opened a free communication with Portugal: but, after some deliberation, the court of Lisbon absolutely rejected this measure, though general Stanhope had advanced with a strong detachment to favour this junction. He then demanded a thousand horse and three thousand foot from that army; which demand was refused. Lastly, he asked the troops of the maritime powers, and their ministers at Lisbon offered to defray the expence; but this request was likewise denied. King Charles remained about six weeks at Madrid, where his necessities obliged him to tax the inhabitants at forty-two thousand pieces of eight per month. At length it

[z] Quincy, Histoire Generale d'Espagne, Mercure Historique & Politique, Burnet's History of his own Times.

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was found requiſite to retire, and to quit both that city and Toledo. On the 11th of November king Charles, under an eſcort of a thouſand horſe, ſet out for Barcelona, upon intelligence that the duke of Noailles was on the point of entering Catalonia with an army [a]. Soon after the king was withdrawn, the army of the allies marched to Guadalaxara.

King Philip takes general Stanhope at Brihuega, and beats count Starembergh at Villaviciosa.

King Philip and the duke of Vendoſme marched with numerous forces from Valladolid, and, knowing the great diſtreſs of the people, ſent a vaſt convoy of proviſions before them to Madrid. The people received him with frantic demonſtrations of joy, and, crowding about the coach of the duke of Vendoſme, ſaluted him prophetically the deliverer of Spain [b]. King Philip loſt no time in paſſing the Tagus, and ſurrounded general Stanhope with eight battalions and four regiments of horſe and dragoons, on the 9th of December, in the little town of Brihuega. They made a great and glorious defence, diſputing every inch of ground in the ſtreets. At length the people of the place barricadoed their doors, and, beating up the tops of their houſes, threw the tiles and ſtones upon their heads, a circumſtance which obliged them to ſurrender priſoners of war; but they were allowed to keep their baggage. Count Starembergh, upon hearing that they were inveſted, marched back to their relief; upon which the duke of Vendoſme ordered the cavalry to march, and form themſelves before Villaviciosa, whither the infantry followed as faſt as it was poſſible. King Philip commanded the right in perſon, having under him the marquis de Valdecanas, captain-general; the duke de Vendoſme was on the left, with the count de Aguilar; and the conde de la Torres and the marquis de Thouy, both captain-generals, were in the centre. This action, which happened on the 10th of December, began about three in the afternoon. The king quickly forced the left wing of the allies, defeated them entirely, took the generals Belcaſtle and St. Amand priſoners; but the right and the centre made a gallant defence, and night coming on, count Starembergh made a ſlow and well-conducted retreat. He ſent ſuch a relation of this action to Barcelona, that they ſung Te Deum, and made rejoicings for the victory, which certainly was not on their ſide, all their cannon and moſt

[a] Hiſtoire Chronologique, Burnet, Quincy, Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Hiſtoire Generale d'Eſpagne. [b] Hiſtoire des Campagnes du Duc de Vendoſme, p. 18.

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part of their baggage being taken, with a great number of prisoners. In short, Starembergh returned into Catalonia with no more than seven thousand men. This action closed the campaign, and secured to king Philip all Arragon, which had again revolted after his defeat, very near the same place where this important victory was gained [c].

Both courts busy in preparation, but neither forward in action.

The duke de Noailles, who had opened his trenches before Gironne on the 23d of December, found himself in a very critical situation; obstinately opposed by a strong garrison, under the command of general Tattonbach, within the place; in frequent danger of having his own communication with the country behind him cut off by the miquelets; and at last himself and his army in the utmost perils from the inundations. His firmness and prudence overcame with much ado all these obstacles; so that at length he made himself master of the lower town on the 23d, and of the upper, by capitulation, on the 25th of January. The news of this success were very acceptable to king Philip, who kept his court at Saragossa, and who had sent for his queen thither [d]. The duke of Vendosme retired to that city, in order to confer with him about the operations of the campaign, and to determine whether Tarragona or Barcelona should be first besieged.

A.D. 1711. The princess of Ursins, who was a declared enemy to this prince, pretended sickness, that she might avoid coming to Saragossa, before he took the field. The arrival of a flotilla at Cadiz put it in the power of king Philip to give a real proof of his gratitude to the duke; and he did it at a review, by putting into his hands an order for fifty thou-thousand pieces of eight for his equipage. The duke was somewhat surprised, but turning suddenly to the line, "These," said he, "are those brave men that fixed the fortune of Spain at Villaviciosa; and these only are worthy of the king's favour;" which he caused to be distributed in necessaries amongst the private men [e]. The remainder of the campaign was spent in little more than preparations, a circumstance chiefly owing to the death of the emperor Joseph, on the 17th of April, soon after

[c] Quincy, Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV. Burnet's History of his own Times, Mercure Historique & Politique, Limiers, Histoire Generale d'Espagne, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Hist. des Campagnes du Duc de Vendosme. [d] Mercure Historique & Politique, 1711. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques. [e] Histoire des Campagnes du Duc de Vendosme, Mercure Historique & Politique, Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

which

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which there were secret negociations for a peace [f]. Charles III. quitted Barcelona, in order to return into his hereditary dominions, but left his queen there, and declared count Starembergh his viceroy. A little before his departure he fell into suspicion of some of the Spaniards about him, and carried this so far, as to cause the duke of Moles, his secretary, to be arrested. On the other hand, the duke of Uzeda, who had been king Philip's ambassador at Rome, and had quitted that city to retire to Genoa, upon the pope's being obliged to acknowlege Charles III. to the surprize of all the world, quitted that city, to come and acknowlege the same prince [g]. The queen being much indispoſed, the king passed a great part of the summer with her and the prince of Asturias at Corella, for the benefit of the waters. From thence, in October, they proceeded to Aranjuez, and then returned to Madrid. About this time marshal Starembergh formed a scheme for recovering Tortosa, and burning all the Spanish magazines; an aim which he had certainly effected, if the duke of Vendosme's steward, who had obtained a passport for going into the camp of the allies, in order to procure fresh fish for his master, had not heard something of the scheme. This he communicated to the duke by the trumpet that was sent with him, who gave timely notice to the governor, which prevented the surprize, and cost the allies the lives of some hundred men. At the close of the year king Philip had upwards of thirty, and king Charles upwards of twenty thousand regular troops in Catalonia, where the latter possessed only Barcelona, Tarragona, and Montalban.

A.D. 1712. *Negotiations for a peace, upon which king Charles the Third quits Catalonia.*

At the beginning of the year the congress for a general peace, the preliminaries of which were already settled, was opened, with the accustomed ceremonies, at Utrecht [h]. King Philip had named the marquis of Monteleon, and other plenipotentiaries; but they did not repair thither, as being apprised, that, till the king's title was acknowleged, they could not have been received. The difficulties of raising money were to the full as great as they had ever been; and perhaps it would have been a point too hard for all their politicians to accomplish, if, in the month of March, the galleons had not arrived at Cadiz, under the

[f] Larrey, tom. iii. p. 309. Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Burnet's History of his own Times. [g] Memoires de la Torre, Lamberti, Quincy, Limiers. [h] Histoire du Congrez & de la Paix d'Utrecht.

escort

escort of monsieur de Caſſe [1]. The king's neceſſities forced him to take a high indulto; and this enabled the duke de Vendoſme to reſume the military preparations, which had been ſuſpended in a manner for ſome time for want of money. About this time the king diſgraced the conde d'Aguilar, lieutenant-general and captain of his guards, knight of the Golden Fleece, generally eſteemed the beſt officer in Spain. This incident occaſioned a great noiſe, and no ſmall diſcontent, for his fidelity, his courage, and his conduct, were without reproach; his only fault lay in his temper; the king had ſupported him againſt the duke of Orleans and marſhal Bezons, but he would not ſupport him againſt the duke of Vendoſme. He ſubmitted with great duty; and, when he reſigned his command, ſaid, "As it is your majeſty's pleaſure, I am content; if it proves for your ſervice, I ſhall rejoice." He retired to his own houſe, and ſpent the remainder of his days as a philoſopher, and died as much beloved as he had always been eſteemed. The king's affairs in Catalonia went on but indifferently; count Starem[illegible]rgh had an army of twenty-four thouſand men, with which he formed the ſiege, or rather the blockade, of Gironne, defended by the marquis de Blancas, now marſhal of France, for eight months, under the utmoſt extremity of famine, till at length the ſiege was raiſed. As for the army of Spain, it was ſcarce ever in a condition to take the field, more eſpecially after the death of the duke of Vendoſme, which happened ſuddenly at Vignaros, on the 11th of June, of an apoplexy, as ſome ſay, or, as others report, of an indigeſtion, ariſing from his eating too heartily of freſh fiſh. The king ordered him to be interred in the Eſcurial, with the ſame honours that had been paid to Don Juan of Auſtria [k]. One great cauſe of the inactivity of this campaign was, the deſire the king had to ſee the Engliſh and Portugueſe ſeparated from count Starembergh's army; a ſeparation which at length happened; and then it was hoped that the Catalans would have ſubmitted, but in that hope he was deceived.

On the 18th of October lord Lexington arrived at Madrid [l], and on the 5th of November, the king, in the pre-

[1] Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, A. D. 1712. Hiſtoire Generale d'Eſpagne. [k] Quincy, Hiſtoire Militaire de Louis XIV. tom. vii. p. 115. Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques. [l] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. ii. p. 612.

fence

sence of his council, signed the act of renunciation [m] in the Cortes, or general assembly of the states. By this act he renounced, for himself, his heirs and successors, all pretensions to, and all power of inheriting, the crown of France, in favour of his brother the duke of Berry, his uncle the duke of Orleans, his cousin the duke of Bourbon, and the rest of the princes of the blood. On the 7th that renunciation was ratified and approved by the assembly of the states, and declared to be a fundamental law for regulating the succession to the dominions of Spain in all times to come. They likewise approved the entail made by that act on the house of Savoy, in case the royal family should become extinct, and the perpetual exclusion of the house of Austria. They farther took this opportunity of altering the rule of succession in another respect, and settled the crown on the next heir male; whereas hitherto females, if nearest in blood, had been capable of succeeding. By this solemn ratification of the king's act, the great obstacle was taken away that retarded the peace, the prospect of which, and the queen's safe delivery of Don Philip, afforded the court and the nation great satisfaction; though they were still at a loss about Catalonia, where they were very unwilling to employ arms, if the possession of that country could have been recovered any other way; as well to avoid provoking the allies, as to take from the Catalans any colour of being obliged to form themselves into a republic for their own security; and it was chiefly with a view to this that the king published a general amnesty, without any reservation or exceptions [n]. The princess of Ursins still maintained herself in the favour of their Catholic majesties, though she did not meddle so much or so openly in public business. The king, however, promised, and procured for her, a principality in the Low Countries [o], notwithstanding that, in the beginning of the year, he had by a solemn act [p] transferred the sovereignty of all the Spanish provinces to his electoral highness of Bavaria, in compensation for the great losses he had sustained by his steady attachment to his interests;

The king's renunciation approved, and the rule of succession altered by the Cortes.

[m] Actes de la Paix d'Utrecht, tom. ii. p. 330. Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom viii. par. i. p. 310. Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [n] Mercure Historique & Politique. [o] Corps Diplomatique, tom. viii. par. i. p. 272. [p] Histoire Generale d'Espagne, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.

and the great object of the court was, to get these points settled by the peace.

Mr. Orry brought back from France, who regulates the revenue effectually.

In order to answer all the great ends of government, there is nothing so requisite as to have the finances in good order. King Philip was sensible of this truth from the very moment he assumed the royal title to this time. Being also persuaded that nothing could contribute so much to the preservation of peace at home, or procuring respect abroad, as having this point once for all settled, he sent for Mr. Orry a third time out of France, and gave him full powers to regulate the whole revenue of the Spanish monarchy; which he did so effectually, and in so short a time, that he fixed it at forty millions for this year. He likewise framed the military establishment upon the foot of one hundred and twenty battalions and one hundred and thirty squadrons, exclusive of the household troops. He bought, repaired, and equipped, twenty-one men of war and frigates; he provided three hundred pieces of cannon, forty mortars, and prodigious quantities of powder, bullets, and bombs. These regulations were indeed attended with murmurs and complaints, against which the court shut their ears; and indeed the Spanish ministers and grandees were so much surprised, and so well pleased to see the monarchy in such a situation, after so long and so expensive a war, that they confessed it better for some individuals to suffer by the loss of old debts, and the introduction of new methods, than that Spain should continue in that distressed and dejected condition in which they had seen her for a long series of years [q]. The arrival of the galleons was another favourable incident, which, by fixing the indulto so high as eight per cent. produced a very considerable supply; and the duke of Albuquerque, who was just returned from his viceroyalty in the Indies, was obliged to lay down a round sum in gold, to prevent an enquiry into his administration. These circumstances, together with the regularity observed by the generality of the towns in paying their free gifts, when they saw that things were put in order, and that a like regularity was observed in all public payments, diffused a spirit of firmness and tranquility which was visible enough in the language and in the conduct of the ministers, during the negotiation and conclusion of the several treaties of peace by which this long and ruinous war had been ended, on terms much

A.D. 1713.

[q] Mercure Historique & Politique, A.D. 1713.

superior

ſuperior to what were expected but the very ſummer before [r].

By the treaty with Great Britain, king Philip, and queen Anne, reciprocally acknowleged each other's titles; the catholic king recognized the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, as ſettled in the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover; revived and reſtored all the privileges the Engliſh nation had enjoyed in the reign of his uncle and predeceſſor; yielded to the crown of Great Britain, in full dominion and ſovereignty, the town and fortreſs of Gibraltar, the iſland of Minorca, and the harbour and fortreſs of Port Mahon, on condition that neither Jews nor Moors ſhould be permitted to inhabit either; that the Roman catholic religion ſhould be permitted and protected in the latter; and that if either or both ſhould be at any time ſold or alienated by the crown of Great Britain, the crown of Spain ſhould have a right of pre-emption. His catholic majeſty farther granted to the ſubjects of Great Britain the Aſſiento de Negros for the ſpace of thirty years, upon the terms, and according to the conditions mentioned in a certain inſtrument, which was to have the like force and virtue as if verbally recited in the ſaid treaty. The inhabitants of Catalonia, of all ranks whatſoever, were to have a general amneſty, with the entire and full poſſeſſion of their honours and eſtates, with all the privileges then enjoyed, or that might be thereafter granted to the inhabitants of the two Caſtiles, his majeſty's moſt faithful and beſt-beloved ſubjects. The treaties of commerce between the two powers were renewed. The iſland of Sicily, at the ſpecial inſtance and requeſt of her Britannic majeſty, was yielded to his royal highneſs the duke of Savoy, but without a power of alienation, and upon condition that, in caſe the male line of the houſe of Savoy failed, it ſhould return to the catholic king. This treaty was ſigned at Utrecht, by the duke of Oſſuna and the marquis of Monteleon on one ſide, and by the biſhop of Briſtol, lord privy-ſeal, and the earl of Strafford, her Britannic majeſty's plenipotentiaries on the other.

The ſubſtance of the treaty between the crowns of Spain and Great Britain.

By the treaty [s] with Victor Amadeus the Second, duke of Savoy, which was ſigned the ſame day, at the ſame place,

Subſtance of the like treaty between his Catholic majeſty and the duke of Savoy.

[r] Hiſtoire Generale d'Eſpagne, Mercure Hiſtorique & Politique, Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. par. i. p. 393. Memoires Hiſtoriques & Chronologiques, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Lamberti, Memoires pour ſervir à l'Hiſtoire du Siecle XVIII. tom. viii. p. 445. [s] Corps Univerſel Diplomat.

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place, his catholic majesty declares, confirms, and renews his several renunciations in respect to the crown of France, and those made by the princes of the blood in that kingdom, as also the new rule of succession, by which that prince and his family were called to the throne of Spain. He likewise yields and transfers, purely, simply, and irrevocably, to the said duke, to the princes his sons, their heirs male, and all the heirs male of the house of Savoy, the kingdom of Sicily, and all the islands adjacent, dependent thereon: he promises to withdraw the marquis de los Balbases, then viceroy, and to give his royal highness possession, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, as also to maintain that possession, and to remit into his royal highness's power all the titles, papers, and documents, that concern the kingdom. On the other hand, his royal highness stipulates not to sell, yield, mortgage, exchange, or otherwise part with the said kingdom, but to preserve the possession of it till such time as it devolved to the crown of Spain for want of heirs male, or to a king of Spain of the house of Savoy. His catholic majesty likewise confirms all the cessions made to his royal highness by the emperor Leopold in Italy. To this treaty there is annexed an instrument of cession, subscribed by his catholic majesty on the 10th of June. There are likewise annexed two separate articles, by which his royal highness consents that this treaty shall be void, in case he opposes directly or indirectly, the intentions of the king of Spain before the conclusion of the general treaty of peace, as also in case he shall enter into any alliances contrary or prejudicial to the interests of his catholic majesty.

Different sentiments of the Spanish nobility upon the terms of the peace.

Thus Philip, after a tedious war, and many cruel reverses of fortune, became at last master of Spain and the Indies, by the consent of those who had most vigorously opposed him; as, on the other hand, the two crowns were constrained to dismember the Spanish monarchy, and make in effect a new treaty of partition. This, as it restored them to tranquility, was extremely grateful to the bulk of the Spanish nation; though there wanted not some who complained of the dear rate at which they had purchased peace, and regretted that diminution of honour which the crown had sustained, notwithstanding they must

Diplomat. du Droit des Gens, tom. viii. par. i. p. 389. 402. Mercure Historique & Politique, Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire, Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Histoire Generale d'Espagne.

have

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have been ſenſible that the loſs was inevitable, and that there was great reaſon to wonder that peace was obtained even upon theſe terms. Thoſe, however, who did not carry their diſcontent ſo high, were not a little troubled at the conſideration that many things yet remained unſettled; that, notwithſtanding the emperor had the equivalent that was intended him in his hands, he ſtill kept up his claim to the whole monarchy; that as yet the peace was not concluded with Portugal; and that the reſtitution of a great part of Catalonia was ſtill in a ſtate of uncertainty; ſo that, after all, the fire was only raked up in its aſhes, and its flame might be eaſily rekindled by any accident that furniſhed it with freſh fuel. The court was very deſirous of extinguiſhing it; but, however, judged very prudently, that great caution was neceſſary; and, that though no time was to be loſt, yet nothing ought to be precipitated, more eſpecially as they were perſuaded that their new friends were full as deſirous as themſelves to ſee this completed, and yet judged, as they did, that a matter of ſo great conſequence ought not to be hurried.

Convention for the immediate evacuation of the principality of Catalonia.

The firſt, and indeed principal point was, the bringing about the evacuation of Catalonia by the German troops; and it proved more eaſy than could have been expected, on account of thoſe circumſtances which determined both parties to concur in that meaſure, who could agree in nothing elſe. His Imperial majeſty was deſirous of withdrawing his conſort, and found it neceſſary likewiſe at that juncture to withdraw his troops. A little before the empreſs embarked, ſhe communicated to the Catalans the emperor's reſolution to continue the war, and not to depart from his claim to the Spaniſh monarchy. To which intimation they returned a very zealous anſwer, demanding, with the greateſt warmth, his coming back to his faithful ſubjects, and promiſing to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in his ſervice[t]. This was kept very ſecret at that time, and was in reality one great ſource of the misfortunes of the Catalans; for, within the compaſs of the ſame month, the emperor conſented to a convention for evacuating Catalonia, and for the neutrality of Italy, in which it was ſtipulated, that the Imperial troops ſhould embark at ſuch times, and in ſuch manner, on board the Engliſh fleet, as ſhould be moſt convenient to count Starembergh; that a general amneſty ſhould be

[t] Lamberti, Memoires pour ſervir, à l'Hiſtoire du Siecle xviii. p. 400.

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granted to all the Catalans without exception, and also to the inhabitants of Majorca; that count Starembergh should quit either Barcelona or Tarragona first, as he thought convenient, of which he should give notice to the Spaniards, that they might take possession of the place he quitted, immediately on the withdrawing of his troops; and that he should leave behind him whatever cannon or ammunition belonged to France or Spain. This convention [u] was of a very singular nature, since none of the parties took any title therein, but, when spoken of together, are called the powers at war; when separately, the power occupying, or the power retiring; and the due observance of all stipulated therein is guarantied by his most Christian majesty and her Britannic majesty. However, when the Imperialists quitted Tarragona, they suffered the Miquelets, as count Starembergh's relation says, to make themselves masters of the place; which indeed they attempted, and in which they were very near succeeding; but the archbishop and the magistrates foreseeing what the consequences would be, and thinking they had made sacrifices enough already, dispatched an express to the marquis Grimaldi, lieutenant-general of his catholic majesty's forces, who ordered the marquis de Lede to march, with six battalions and seven squadrons, to secure that city, as he did, and was received by the inhabitants with all the marks of joy imaginable [w]. It was with this marquis of Grimaldi that count Starembergh had signed a convention [x], dated the 22d of June, relative to the evacuation, in which it was stipulated, that the Catalans should be at free liberty to send a deputation to the duke de Popoli, whom the king had appointed their viceroy; but it does not appear that they made any use of it, but, on the contary, count Starembergh's relation expressly says, that he left the emperor's flags flying on Montjuic, and in the principal posts of Barcelona [y].

The commons of Barcelona seize that city, and refuse to acknowledge the new government.

In the mean time, those who were invested with the government of this province employed their agent, the count de Ferran, to solicit Great Britain and Holland for assistance, representing, in very strong terms, the promises of support that had been made them from time to time by the maritime powers; and, according to the prayer of his memorials, both the queen and the States General did

[u] Mercure Historique & Politique. [w] Memoires Historiques & Chronologiques, Limiers, Histoire de Louis XIV. [x] Histoire Generale d'Espagne. [y] Mercure Historique & Politique.

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interpose on their behalf. The states, however, gave out commissions for twenty thousand men; took the Spanish troops of king Charles, that were left behind, into their pay, as they likewise did some Palatines, and their officers; appointed generals of horse and foot, and took all other measures possible for a vigorous defence [z]. It is not easy to discover what their real intentions were; the general notion throughout Europe was, that they had a mind to render themselves an independent republic, after the example of Holland, which had been more than once in their heads before; but of this there is no kind of proof: on the contrary, from the language of their public acts, it is manifest they would be understood to mean, that they still considered the emperor as king of Spain, and themselves as his subjects; and therefore their conduct ought to be referred, if not to secret assurances, yet at least to expectations and hopes of succour and support from him; which is so much the more likely, as his imperial majesty procured, or, as the Spaniards say, extorted, the cardinal's hat for the bishop of Barcelona, who was the principal author of these martial resolutions [a]. The nobility and the clergy were of another mind, and were desirous of submitting, not only as it seemed to be the sole measure they had left, but also in point of prudence, that they might reap the benefit of the good offices of the maritime powers. However, they were not able to carry their point.

Declare war against the crowns of France and Spain, and are treated as rebels by the latter.

As soon as the court of Madrid had taken their measures for reducing the place in case of resistance, the duke de Popoli, in quality of general of the army in the principality of Catalonia, summoned the city of Barcelona to open her gates on the 29th of July, on pain of being considered as obstinate rebels; to which the deputation answered, that their city, and the whole principality, persisted in their resolution of continuing the war, in virtue of that fidelity which they had always borne to their sovereign [b]. This declaration certainly was very explicit. However, they explained themselves farther, by making an attempt upon Tarragona, in which they miscarried; and at last, upon the 21st of September, they publicly declared war by sound of trumpet against both France and Spain; from which time hostilities were committed on both sides, and the Spaniards took all the precautions pos-

[z] Lamberti, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. viii. p. 411. [a] Le Siecle de Louis XIV. par Voltaire.
[b] Mercure Historique & Politique, Histoire Generale d'Espagne, Quincy, Hist. Milit. de Louis XIV. Limiers.

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sible to block up Barcelona, as far as it was in their power [c]. Lord Lexington, who was still at Madrid, with the character of the queen of Great Britain's ambassador extraordinary, renewed his solicitations in favour of the Catalans. He says in his memorial, that it was not consistent with the honour or conscience of his mistress to leave a nation, whom the course of the war had brought into her interests, in a worse condition than she found it; and therefore pressed the king, in consideration of that friendship which God had been pleased to restore between their majesties, to grant those unhappy people their pardon and their privileges. In answer to this memorial, the Spanish ministers insisted upon the treaty, and the offers that had been made of a general amnesty, which they had refused. When lord Lexington was on the point of his departure, he wrote, with the consent of the court of Spain to the Catalans, in order to persuade them to accept the amnesty, that it might be in his power to intercede for them farther, which he assures them he was inclined to do, though their answer should not reach his hands till he had quitted Madrid, and was come to Lisbon [d]: but it does not appear what effect this letter had, or whether it had any; but about this time his catholic majesty solicited the queen, or at least her ministers, very strongly, to permit some of her ships of war, that were in the Mediterranean, to assist in shutting up the port of Barcelona, and this, under pretence that it was a point of no great consequence to the commerce of Great Britain, inasmuch as the Catalans, in their desperate circumstances, had solicited the Moors, and particularly the Algerines, for assistance.

Reasons for concluding here the modern history of the Spanish monarchy.

Such was the situation of things at the close of this year, which brings us to a conclusion of the general history of Spain, since, though the treaties with the United Provinces and Portugal were not concluded and signed within the compass of it, yet the principal points were settled, and the king was acknowleged; and the reader will find a full account of both in their proper places. He was also so happy as to have another son born this year, viz. the infant Don Ferdinand, on the 23d of September, who afterwards succeeded to the crown of Spain [e], and his affairs in much better condition than, after so tedious and consuming a war, he could well have expected.

[c] Larrey. [d] Lamberti, Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Siecle xviii. tom. viii. p. 406—409. [e] Hist. Gen. d'Espagne.

CHAP.

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CHAP. LXVI.

The History of Portugal, from its becoming a distinct Sovereignty; from their own Authors, compared with those of other Nations.

SECT. I.

The History of Portugal, from its being bestowed by Don Alonso VI. King of Leon and Castile, on Henry of Burgundy, with the title only of a County, to the proclamation of Don Alonso Enriquez, in the plains of Ourique.

THE history of Portugal naturally follows that of Spain, of which, with Galicia, it makes the whole Western coast. It is consequently very happily seated in a mild and temperate climate, well watered by rivulets and springs, as well as several navigable rivers; in a word, rich, fruitful, and pleasant, in itself, and rendered famous throughout the world by the virtue and valour of its inhabitants.

How far the Latin name of Lusitania corresponds with the country now called Portugal.

We find this country constantly styled in Latin, at least by modern authors, Lusitania; but we must not imagine, that the modern kingdom of Portugal answers with any degree of accuracy to that province of Spain which was anciently styled Lusitania [a]. Even in ancient authors Lusitania does not always signify the same part of Spain. In those before the time of Augustus Cæsar, Lusitania seems to be bounded by the ocean on the north, and by the river Tagus on the south; considered in which light it comprehended all Galicia, and excluded two of the six provinces of Portugal [b]. But in the stricter and more restrained sense of the word, as we find it used particularly by Pliny, it was bounded on the north by the Durius, now the Douro, and on the south by the river Anas, now the Guadiana [c], in which sense it was not

[a] Philip Cluverii, Introduct. Geograph. lib. ii. cap iii. Peter Bertii, Breviar. Orbis Terrarum. p. 4, 5. [b] Strabon Geographia. [c] Plin. Hist. Natural. lib. iii. cap. i.. lib. iv. cap. xii. Pompon. Mela. lib. iii. cap. i.

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quite so long as Portugal; but it was broader, comprehending within the line of its eastern frontier Norba Cæsarea, Pax Augusta, and Emerita Augusta, now styled Alcantara, Badajos, and Merida [d]. We must also observe, that though a great part of Portugal was comprehended within the dominions of the Suevi, yet these sovereignties were far from being exactly the same, since the Suevi were certainly masters of the best part of Galicia, but do not seem to have taken in the southern part of Portugal; that is, the two provinces beyond the Tagus, as we may collect from their having constantly the ancient city of Bracara, Augusta, or Braga, for their capital.

The true etymology and meaning of the modern appellation.

In respect to the modern name of Portugal, the etymology and sense of it are very far from being certain or determined. As to the common received opinion, it seems to be founded rather in fancy, than in any kind of proof. It is said, that a great number of Gauls landed at Porto, from whence it received the name of Portus Gallorum, or the port of the Gauls, and in process of time, that name gradually extended itself over the country, being softened, or rather shortened, into Portugal [e]. But when this event happened, why these Gauls went thither, and what became of them afterwards, are questions that lie all buried in oblivion. It is alledged, however, that upon an eminence which overlooks the mouth of the river Douro, there stood an ancient town called Cale, strong and well peopled, but very ill seated for trade, and this occasioned the construction of a lower town, or hamlet, which was called Portus Cale, that is, the haven of Cale, and in process of time Portucalia [f]. At length becoming so considerable as to merit an episcopal chair, these bishops subscribed themselves, as the records of ancient councils testify, Portucalenses, and the name of the city was transferred to the diocese, which was styled Portucalia [g].

Great difference between the country originally so called, and that which now bears that name.

Portugal, even in its present condition, and with the addition of Algarve, is but a small kingdom; but small as it is, we shall in the course of this history demonstrate, that it is incomparably greater than that in which the sovereignty began, and which, to say the truth, was nearly the same with the province between the Minio and the

[d] Ludovic Nonii. Hispania. cap. vi.
[e] Hieron Conestaggii de Portugal et Castel conjunct. lib. i.
[f] Censuræ Duardi Nonii in Joseph Teixeræ Libellum de Reg. Portugal Origine, cens. ii.
[g] Les Delices de l'Espagne et du Portugal, par Don Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, p. 692, 693.

Douro,

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Douro, small in extent, but happy in situation; and so pleasant and fertile, that it has been sometimes styled Medulla Hispanica, or, *the Marrow of Spain.*

Wide differences in the accounts given by authors as to the foundation of this sovereignty.

The Spanish and Portuguese historians agree, that Don Alonso, king of Leon and Castile, and son to Don Ferdinand the Great, bestowed his daughter Donna Theresa in marriage upon an illustrious stranger Don Henry, and gave him with her the frontier province, which he had conquered from the Moors, lying south of the river Minho or Minio, with the title of count. This Don Henry was grandson to Robert I. duke of Burgundy, younger brother of king Henry I. of France [h]. The Spanish historians are clear, that Donna Theresa was the king's natural daughter by Donna Ximena Guzman; while the Portuguese are as clear, that she was his legitimated daughter, and that Donna Ximena was his wife, though divorced from him afterwards by the pope [i]. There is as little harmony amongst them in respect to the time of this marriage, or of the age of the parties who contracted it. To come at an absolute certainty in all, or indeed in any of these points, is a task of insuperable difficulty, as the ablest and most accurate authors have ingenuously confessed.

Genuine account of the manner in which it was established.

The king Don Alonso, apprehensive that his success in taking the city of Toledo, would bring upon him the whole force of the Moors, as well out of Barbary, as in Spain, sent to demand assistance from Philip the First of France, and the duke of Burgundy, whose aunt he had married. Both these princes listened to his request; and, according to the enterprising temper of the nobility in that age, and the nature of the military tenures then subsisting, Don Alonso's desire was no sooner known, than a numerous body of troops was speedily collected for his service, and at their head went Raymond count of Burgundy, Henry, younger brother of Hugh duke of Burgundy, Raymond count of Toulouse, and many others [k]. A.D.1087.
On their arrival at the court of Don Alonso, they were received and treated with all possible marks of esteem and respect; and having shewed, in the course of some years, very high proofs of their courage and conduct, the king resolved to bestow his only daughter the princess Urraca,

h Frag. Historic. a Rege Roberts ad Philip I. i Histoire generale de Portugal, par monsiepr Lequieu de la Neufville, tom. i. p. 71. k Prag. Hist. à Rege Rob. ad Philip I. Andr. Resendius, lib. iv. de Antiqu. Lusit.

then

then a perfect child, being at most in her ninth year, upon Raymond, count of Burgundy, and assigned them A.D. 1090. the province of Galicia, for the support of their dignity [l]. This step was very probably taken at the motion of the queen Donna Constantia, who survived it only two years. She preferred upon this occasion Don Raymond to Don Henry, because of the alliance in blood between them, which would have rendered their marriage illicit: but it is highly likely, that at the time Galicia was bestowed upon Don Raymond, the government of the frontiers and of the countries to the south of Galicia, were given to Henry of Burgundy, with commission to further their improvement, by repairing old, and building new towns, and by such other methods as he should devise; to defend the province against the infidels, and to enlarge the boundaries of his jurisdiction at their expence, as occasion should offer, by the king's being in the field with an army. Then a diversion might be expedient or necessary, without any apprehension of the Moors entering into confederacies, or suspending those feuds that almost continually raged amongst themselves in order to overwhelm this new establishment, which, in the space of a few years, through the care of this great man, became much more rich and populous than before. Numbers of Christians, who had taken shelter in the adjacent mountains, and had lived there in a desolate and miserable condition, came down to settle in the plains, under his protection: so that by degrees he brought into perfect order the two provinces of Entro Minho e Douro and Tra los Montes, with a part of that of Beira, beyond the Douro, at least so much as was held by the Moorish king of Lamego, whom he constrained to pay tribute [m].

What the country was given to Henry of Burgundy with Donna Theresa of Leon.

About two years after the queen's death, Don Alonso being very desirous to express his affection and esteem for Henry of Burgundy, gave him in marriage his natural daughter, born while he remained in exile at Toledo, whose name was Donna Theresa; and upon this marriage he gave up in full property, as the Portuguese writers assert, all the country of which Henry had hitherto held the superintendence, with the title of count, and permis-

[l] Hernando de Pulgar Historia de la ciudad y obispado de Placentia. Fragment Hist. Franc. ap Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 391.
[m] Manuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

sion

sion to conquer what he could from the Moors, as far as the river Anas, or as the Spaniards call it Guadiana [n]. A.D. 1094.

The count Don Henry and his consort Donna Theresa fixing their residence in the town of Guimaraez, supposed by some to have been built out of the remains of the ancient city of Araduca; but certainly very pleasantly situated in the midst of a small, but fertile plain, on the banks of the river Ave. The remains of an ancient palace, belonging to some of their successors, are yet visible there; and on account of its having been the ancient capital, the king Don Denis granted its inhabitants an exemption from taxes, which they still enjoy [o]. The Portuguese encouraged by being thus rendered independent, and the presence of a prince of their own, made great progress upon the borders of the province betwixt the rivers Douro and Minho, till then not entirely subdued, of which we have no particular account. Hecha, king of Lamego, being tributary to count Henry, rebelled, and drawing together a powerful army, did a great deal of mischief in his territories [p]. The count, with Egas Moniz, or Nugnez, a gentleman famous for his valour and wisdom, afterwards governor to count Alonso, marched to recover the booty he had taken, and overtook him in a valley near the monastery of Arouca. The Moorish monarch, for greater security in case of misfortune, placed his queen Axa Anzures, and all the plunder his forces had taken, on the top of a mountain called Sierra Seca, which he judged inaccessible. The Christian army encamped along the river Alarda. Egas, seeing the enemy advantageously posted, undertook with a strong detachment in the night to go about the bottom, and so ascending the mountain at break of day, to be ready to fall upon them, whilst the Christian army charged the enemy below. This plan was accordingly put in execution; and, after an obstinate and bloody fight, the queen was taken upon the mountain, and the king in the plain [q]. Afterwards they became Christians, and the count bestowed the city of Lamego upon them, for which they payed tribute. The Moors rebelling against their king for changing his religion, he fled to Guimaraez, to desire assistance of count A.D 1102.

He compels the Moorish king of Lamego to submit, and receive a colony of Christians.

[n] Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispania, Luc. Tudens. Chronic. Brandan, Ed. Nunez, Vasconcellos, And. Resend, Histoire generale de Portugal, par monsieur Lequien de la Neufville.
[o] Chron. Var. Antiq. Mayerne, Turquet. [p] Faria y Sousa, Ferreras, la Clede. [q] Mariana.

Henry,

Henry, who, raising forces, marched directly to Lamego, which having taken, he restored to that prince, who, fearing in the count's absence his subjects would again revolt, desired him to leave some Portuguese to secure the country. His request was granted, and the place peopled with inhabitants brought from the province betwixt the rivers Douro and Minho; that is, old Galician Christians, upon whose valour, as well as fidelity, the count Don Henry could absolutely depend[r].

Donna Theresa after her father's death assumes the title of queen but not of Castile or Leon.

Some writers assert, that count Henry being chosen general of the forces that went from Spain, made a voyage to the Holy Land; and, after performing many glorious actions there, returned again into his own dominions. We know with greater certainty, that he was actually in Portugal at the time of the demise of his father-in-law, the king Don Alonso; and that soon after this event Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, having attempted, but in vain, the reduction of Toledo and Madrid, fell into the territories of Portugal, and defeating such forces as those who commanded on the frontiers could draw together, made himself master of Sentaren, and several other places in the neighbourhood[s]. The reason that count Henry did not act in person against the Moors was, his being wholly taken up with the disputes in Galicia, about the tuition of the young prince Alonso Raymond, whom the people of that country had proclaimed their king, and the civil war that had broke out betwixt Donna Urraca, queen of Castile and Leon, and her husband Don Alonso, king of Navarre: the Portuguese writers give us very indistinct and improbable accounts of his conduct[t]. Some of them say, that his consort took the title of queen of Castile and Leon, as being the eldest daughter of the deceased king, and born in lawful wedlock. She might possibly take the title of queen, be-
A.D. 1109. cause, through the courtesy of those times, the daughters of kings were commonly so styled after their father's decease; but for her entering into any competition with her sister, it seems to be mere fable, or rather calumny, without any foundation.

The death of Henry count of Portugal, and his character.

On the other hand it is very certain, that her husband, who never took any higher title than that of count of Portugal, assisted queen Urraca with all his forces, and

[r] Brandan. [s] Histoire generale de Portugal, par Lequien de la Neufville, Mariana, Ferreras. [t] Roderic Toletan de Reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron.

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this at a very critical conjuncture, when she was on the very point of being despoiled of her dominions by the king her husband, whom Don Henry forced to raise the siege of Astorga, in the kingdom of Leon. Entering this city, after he had thus happily relieved it, he was seized with a grievous distemper, of which he soon after died [u]. His son Don Alonso, caused his body to be removed from Astorga to the cathedral church of Braga, in his own territories, where it was with great solemnity interred. Diego de Sauza, who was archbishop in 1513, caused his corpse to be transferred from the place where it was first buried, into a chapel, in which he had erected a splendid tomb to his memory [w]. He was a generous, wise, and gallant prince; defeated the Moors in seventeen engagements, governed his dominions with equal prudence and justice, and is said to have recommended three things to his successor in his last moments, or rather to have couched these instructions in his testament; first, that he should be zealous in promoting and protecting the Christian faith. Secondly, that he should treat his subjects as if they were his children, and be very careful in enacting equal and good laws. Lastly, that he should attend himself to their execution, and be more especially vigilant to prevent the powerful and the rich from oppressing their weak and indigent neighbours, since the strength of a government consisted in securing and preserving to its subjects the means of subsisting their families comfortably, and in preventing any from becoming so great as to despise, or so poor as to violate the laws through mere necessity [x]. A D. 1112.

Queen Theresa governs this country during the minority of her son Don Alonso.

According to the best memoirs, rectified by the comparison and concurrence of events, which are the only certain guides in history, Don Alonso, the apparent heir of Portugal, had at the time of his father's decease barely entered into the third year of his age: his dominions therefore were governed by his mother queen Theresa, and this by a kind of mixed and undistinguished right of dowager of the deceased count, mother of the young prince, and proprietary, as she conceived herself, of this sovereignty as the gift of her father [y]. In the administration of public affairs she was assisted by Don Ferdinand Perez de Traba, the son of that famous Don Pedro, who was governor and protector of the young Don Alonso

[u] Histoire generale de Portugal, par le Neufville. [w] E. Nunez de Leon as cronicas dos Reis de Portugual. [x] Faria y Sousa, Mayerne, Turquet. [y] Brandan, la Neufville.

Raymond,

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Raymond, king of Galicia, ſon to queen Urraca, and nephew to queen Thereſa, both theſe princes, Alonſo Raymond, and Alonſo Enriquez, being the grandſons of Don Alonſo, king of Leon and Caſtile. The great capacities and moderate diſpoſitions of theſe two able miniſters, Don Pedro and Don Ferdinand, preſerved both countries from feeling, at leaſt in an extreme degree, thoſe inconveniencies that uſually attend long minorities and the reign of women [z]. In Portugal more eſpecially this calm continued for nine years, during which there happened nothing ſo remarkable as to deſerve a place in hiſtory, except that the queen, by the advice of her miniſter, took great care of the frontier, and cauſed the ſtrong fortreſs of Souria to be erected, in order to cover the city of Coimbra from the incurſions of the Moors [a].

Her diſputes with her ſiſter Donna Urraca, and her nephew Don Alonſo Raymond.

The tranquility which both nations enjoyed was diſturbed by animoſities between the two ſiſters. Queen Thereſa inſiſted, that ſome part of Galicia belonged to her in virtue of her father's grants, or of his laſt will; and ſeized Tuy, an epiſcopal ſee and a place of ſome conſequence. Queen Urraca, when her affairs were brought into ſome order, determined to recover what ſhe thought was uſurped from her, and having aſſembled a numerous army, went in perſon into Galicia: upon which queen Thereſa quitted Tuy, and being much inferior to her ſiſter in forces, paſſed the river Minho, took ſhelter in one of her own fortreſſes, and cauſed her army to be encamped round it. The archbiſhop of Compoſtella, who had vigorouſly aſſiſted queen Urraca, and without whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe could do nothing, believing ſhe had now done enough, and that her troops might be much better employed than againſt her ſiſter, demanded leave to retire with his vaſſals whom he had brought to her aſſiſtance. Urraca, provoked at this requeſt, and recollecting that he had formerly oppoſed her will, reſolved to ſecure his perſon; of which deſign queen Thereſa gaining intelligence, gave that prelate timely notice; but he either ſuſpecting the intelligence, or being willing rather to ſuffer than to deſert his prince, accompanied queen Urraca in her retreat; who, as ſoon as ſhe had him in her power, ſeized and put him in priſon; which act of violence having excited a general inſurrection, delivered

z Chron. Var. Antiq. Mariana, Ferreras, Souſa, Brandan, Mayerne, Turquet, la Clede.

a Faria y

the Portugueſe from their apprehenſions [b]. The queen Donna Thereſa, either ſuſpecting the inclinations of Don Pelagio, archbiſhop of Braga, or offended at his not having eſpouſed her cauſe ſo warmly as ſhe expected againſt her ſiſter, ſeized and threw him into priſon; from which however he was quickly delivered by the pope's bull, threatening her and her ſubjects with an interdict, in caſe he was not diſcharged: and this ſeems to have been the firſt ſignal cauſe of offence which the queen gave to her ſubjects. The death of her ſiſter Urraca ſeemed favourable in ſome reſpects to her intereſt, or at leaſt it appeared ſo, more eſpecially when her nephew Don Alonſo Raymond, ſeemed to court her friendſhip; and had an interview with her, in which all differences between their ſovereignties were amicably determined [c]. But not long after this, that young prince, finding himſelf obliged to march with the whole ſtrength of his dominions againſt his father-in-law the king of Navarre and Arragon, queen Thereſa took this opportunity to cauſe a body of her forces to repaſs the Minho, and to re-poſſeſs themſelves of Tuy; which, however, did not long remain in her hands, Don Alonſo king of Leon returning with a ſuperior army into Galicia, upon which the Portugueſe thought proper to quit their new conqueſt, and to ſecure themſelves by a timely retreat [d].

A. D. 1121.

A. D. 1126.

Cauſes of Don Alonſo Enriquez's difference with his mother queen Thereſa.

Don Alonſo Enriquez, whom his father count Henry had intruſted to the care of Egas Munitz, received from him an excellent education. That he might diſcover to the people that he meant to follow the footſteps of his father, he went, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to the church of Zamora; and, after going through the uſual ceremonies, received there the honour of knighthood. Five years were almoſt elapſed ſince that time, and ſome of the Portugueſe nobility, who either envied Don Ferdinand Perez, ſtyled by ſome writers count of Traſtemara, or were really offended with the reports that were ſpread of his familiarity with the queen, and intention to marry her, and take the title of count of Portugal, perſuaded Don Alonſo, who was now near eighteen, to vindicate his own rights, and to let the people ſee that he would not tamely ſubmit to ſuch a violation of them. He cloſed immediately with the propoſition that was

[b] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Eſpan. Luc. Tudenſ. Chron. Ferreras.
[c] Hiſtoire generale de Portugal, par la Neufville.
[d] Faria y Souſa, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

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A.D. 1128. made him, assumed the sovereign authority, and was, generally speaking, chearfully obeyed [e]. The queen his mother, however, had not governed so long without having a considerable party in her interests, who were ready to espouse them with their swords. The nobility about Don Alonso persuaded him to give battle to the queen's forces, over whom he gained a signal and complete victory [f]. Queen Theresa, after her defeat, took shelter in the castle of Legonaso, and as for Don Ferdinand Perez, he retired with his brother, whom the scandal of those times had reported to have been the queen's first favourite, into Galicia. Instead of pursuing them, Don Alonso invested the fortress in which his mother had taken refuge, and having obliged her to surrender, caused her to be kept in prison during the remainder of her life [g]. Don Alonso being well acquainted with the queen's violent temper, judged it expedient to keep her under a gentle restraint, to prevent fresh troubles, till the time of her demise, which happened in somewhat less than two years, upon the first of November [h], in the year of our Lord 1130.

He defeats her forces, assumes the government, and imprisons his mother.

Makes several attempts in order to recover what his mother held in Galicia.

Don Alonso, count of Portugal, having now the full and free possession of his dominions, repulsed with great loss a Moorish prince, who, thinking to take advantage of their domestic troubles, had made an inroad, and taken the town of Francosa, which, though not without difficulty, Don Alonso recovered. Having again defeated the infidels, who attacked him in his return to his capital, he entered Guimaraez in triumph, and caused the trophies of his victories to be placed in the principal church. He was very desirous of recovering the places the queen his mother had formerly possessed in Galicia, and, under pretence of prosecuting his quarrel against Don Ferdinand Perez, he made more than one irruption into that country, but with no great success. At length an opportunity offered that seemed to flatter his hopes. Don Garcia, king of Navarre, being jealous of the great power of Don Alonso king of Leon and Castile, who assumed the title of emperor of the Spains, proposed a league to Don Alonso Enriquez, for their mutual advantage. This tempted him to invade Galicia a third time, with better success than before, since he defeated

A.D. 1132.

[e] Histoire generale de Portugal, par la Neufville, Mayerne, Turquet. [f] Brandan, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Ferreras. [g] Mayerne, Turquet. [h] Lequien de la Neufville.

those

those who opposed him, and took and fortified several places; but the return of the emperor, with a superior army, constrained him to abandon his enterprize, together with his new conquests, in order to retire into his own dominions [i].

He makes peace with the emperor Don Alonso, and renders his dominions tributary to the pope.

These disappointments, together with the news of an irruption of the Moors into his own country, engaged this young prince to drop his animosity against the emperor, which proceeded chiefly from his considering him, in quality of count of Portugal, as his vassal, and turn his arms entirely on that side, where a Mooriſh king had actually besieged Coimbra. His force was so much superior to that of Don Alonso, as afforded him little hopes of raising the siege; but the plague, breaking out in the Mooriſh army, destroyed such numbers as enabled him to constrain them to retire: after their retreat, he took Leyria, which he gave to the monks of the Holy Cross of Coimbra, from whom the Moors quickly took it: but the king not only returned and recovered it, but likewise reduced Torres Novas, Beja, Serpa, Moura, and Evora. In all probability, he would have pushed his conquests still farther, if the emperor Don Alonso had not entered his country with a numerous army, and begun to lay it waste with fire and sword. Don Alonso Enriquez marched against him with all the forces he could raise, and understanding that the count Don Ramiro, with a great body of troops, moved at some distance from the emperor, he, by a forced march, surprised and routed him with great slaughter. This check, however, did not hinder the emperor from marching directly towards him; but the count being persuaded by some of the nobility about him to offer a treaty, the peace was easily made, all places and prisoners taken on both sides being restored. The pope's legate being very instrumental in this accommodation, the count Don Alonso, in a high fit of gratitude or piety, declared himself tributary for all his dominions to the holy see, and promised to pay annually in that quality four ounces of gold, as appears from his own letter on this subject to pope Lucius the Second [k].

A.D. 1137.

Ismar, lieutenant to the miramamolin, invades Portugal with a prodigious army.

The progress of the Christians in Portugal being reported to Abu Ali Texefin, the miramamolin, or chief monarch of the Moors in Barbary, he directed Ismar,

[i] Faria y Sousa, Roderic Toletan, Luc. Tudens. le Clede, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

[k] Baluz. Miscellanea, tom. ii. p. 320.

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whom some authors call Ishmael, his lieutenant in Spain, to assemble all the forces of the Southern provinces, and oblige the Christians to repass the Douro. In consequence of these orders, he directed the alcaydes of Badajoz, Elvas, Evora, and Beja, to assemble the troops of their respective governments; and having joined these with the forces he brought from Barbary, the whole army was very numerous. He was scarce in readiness to march before he had intelligence that Don Alonso Enriquez had passed the river Tayo, and was in the neighbourhood of a place called Castro Verda. This circumstance appeared very favourable to the Moorish general, as it gave him an opportunity of drawing up his cavalry, in which his strength principally consisted, with all possible advantage, in the plains of Ourique; and therefore he took all possible precautions to prevent the Christians from repassing the river, and gaining thereby an opportunity of fighting upon more equal terms. However, Don Alonso had so
A.D.1139. early intelligence that he might have retired, to which measure he was advised by most of his generals; but it seems he declared himself of a contrary opinion. He judged that such a retreat would discredit his arms; and that such a multitude of Moors breaking into his dominions might render it impracticable for him to reinforce his fatigued army, so as to be in a better condition to fight than he was at this time. His soldiers shewing great alacrity, his generals came over to his opinion, and it was determined to wait and receive the infidels where they were. This resolution being taken, they chose their ground, so as to obtain all that could be gained in point of situation. Having thrown up some intrenchments to cover their infantry, they divided their horse into four corps, and in this position waited the attack[1].

Don Alonso Enriquez gives him battle with a small body of forces.

Ismar divided the Moorish cavalry into twelve corps; and making sure of the victory, was chiefly intent upon disposing them in such a manner to as cut off all possibility of retreat, and hinder, if it might be done, so much as a single man from making his escape. By thus enlarging his front, he lost, in a great measure, the weight which his superiority might have given him. The Portuguese infantry, being attacked in their intrenchments, made so gallant a defence, that the enemy could not force them; and their flanks being covered with morasses, the Moorish cavalry, destined to prevent their escape, were of no

[1] Faria y Sousa.

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uſe. At length the Moors, fatigued by repeated and ineffectual aſſaults, began to fall into confuſion, which as ſoon as the Portugueſe infantry perceived, they ſallied from their intrenchments, and attacked them in their turn with great fury. Don Alonſo ſeconded them with his cavalry, and after a bloody and obſtinate diſpute, which laſted ſix hours, the Moors were totally routed with prodigious ſlaughter, the nephew of Iſmar, who had commanded the attack, and the four alcaydes already mentioned, being killed upon the ſpot[m]. Amongſt the priſoners were upwards of a thouſand Chriſtians, of thoſe ſtyled Mozarabians, whom, at the requeſt of Theotonus, prior of the Holy Croſs, Don Alonſo ſet at liberty, with their wives and their children, and procured them eſtabliſhments in his territories. This glorious victory was gained upon the twenty-fifth of July; and the anniverſary thereof has ever ſince been celebrated to preſerve the memory of ſo ſignal a favour vouchſafed to the Chriſtian arms by the bleſſing of Divine Providence[n].

We have omitted numberleſs extraordinary circumſtances, related with great confidence by the Portugueſe writers, becauſe they ſavour too ſtrongly of ſuperſtition and impoſture.

Certain it is, Don Alonſo was proclaimed king in the plains of Ourique, immediately after this victory. Nevertheleſs, the eſſentials of the real dignity, together with the form and conſtitution of the monarchy, were not ſettled till ſome years after; and then in ſuch a manner as will plainly ſhew, that Don Alonſo Enriquez was a very wiſe and judicious prince, who knew very well what he was doing, and how to reconcile the vigour of monarchical authority with a juſt claim to liberty in the ſubject[o].

[m] Chron. Var. Antiq. Brandon, Garibay, Mariana, Vaſconcellos, Faria y Souſa, la Neufville, le Clede. [n] Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras. [o] Hiſtoire generale de Portugal, par Lequien de la Neufville, Garibay, Damian de Goes, Brandan, Faria y Souſa.

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SECT. II.

The History of Portugal under the Reigns of Don Alonso I. Don Sancho I. Don Alonso II. and Don Sancho II.

The king Don Alonso makes war on the Christians and Moors with various success.

THE defeat which the king of Portugal had given the Moors, opened to him a free passage for his return into what might be properly styled his own territories. This battle was fought on the frontiers of Algarve, and the rivulets are said to have carried their waters deeply stained with blood into the Guadiana, where Don Alonso was not as yet the peaceable possessor of all the countries north of the Tayo. He judged it therefore convenient to repass that river, disposed his army into quarters about Coimbra, and dispersed the captives he had made through the interior places in his dominions [p]. Don Raymond, count of Barcelona, and regent and possessor in right of his wife of the kingdom of Arragon, having proposed a league to Don Alonso against the emperor, his jealousy of that potent prince induced him to accept this offer. In pursuance of his engagements, though he had always hitherto been unsuccessful in that country, he entered Galicia with a great force, while Don Raymond fell upon the emperor's dominions on the other. The scheme of these two princes was well laid, yet neither of them succeeded: as for Don Alonso he met with a severe check in his expedition into Galicia, where, in a smart engagement, he received a dangerous wound in the loins from the son of count Ferdinand Gamez, governor of that province for the emperor, and at the same time some of the nobility who attended him were taken prisoners. This misfortune, together with the news that the Moors had invaded his territories, induced him to retire; yet he did not arrive early enough to prevent the infidels from taking the fortress of Leyria, the garrison of which they put to the sword, and afterwards demolished the place, a circumstance which affected him with no small concern [q].

A.D. 1140.

[p] Brandan, Faria y Sousa, le Clede. [q] Chron. Var. Antiq. Cronica del Emperador de Espana Don Alonso, sacada de un libro antiquo y de muchas Escrituras por Prud de Sandoval.

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In order to repair this mischief, the king took the field with a good army. While his troops were employed in slight excursions, he caused the fortress of Leyria to be rebuilt, and rendered stronger than it was before, into which he put a numerous garrison: but it does not appear he undertook any thing farther this campaign[r]. Next year the Moors invaded his dominions with a very great army, defeated his generals, and carried a considerable number of his subjects into slavery. We have no account where the king was at this time; but it is very certain that he did not renew the war against the emperor, as being perhaps convinced that it served only to give advantage to their common enemy, and to waste his own forces, who fought unwillingly against their neighbours[s]. It seems also, that he was embarked in a negotiation at Rome, where he was very desirous of getting his new title confirmed, having already meditated another step of importance, as soon as the bulls should be received. In the mean time coming to Coimbra, and having a good number of his nobility and forces about him, he formed a project for attacking Santaren, which is about twelve miles from Lisbon, a large place well fortified, according to the manner of those times, and provided with a numerous garrison. Upon close examination he saw there were little hopes of succeeding by a regular siege, as the Moors would have time enough before he could take the place to assemble an army for its relief. He determined therefore to attempt it by surprize, and was lucky enough to succeed in that undertaking, at which he assisted in person. This was a conquest of very great consequence, inasmuch as it procured him a considerable tract of country, covered his frontier, and at the same time restored to their liberty a multitude of his subjects, who were prisoners in the place[t].

A.D.1143. *Renders himself master by surprize of the important post of Santaren.* A.D.1144. A.D.1145.

This success encouraged him to execute without delay a project he had very much at heart. He called an assembly of the states of his dominions at Lamago, which consisted of the prelates, nobility, and commons. At the opening of this assembly he appeared seated on the throne, but without any marks of his regal dignity: then Laurence de Viegas demanded of the assembly whether, in consequence of the election in the plains of Ourique, and the briefs of pope Eugenius the Third, they were content to

Causes his titles to be recognized, and the constitution settled, by an assembly of the states.

[r] Brandan, Garibay, Mayerne, Turquet, le Clede, Ferreras. [s] Faria y Sousa.

have Don Alonſo Enriquez for their king? They anſwered, they were content. He then demanded, if they deſired he ſhould continue king only during his life, or that this dignity ſhould remain to his family? They declared their intention to be, that the crown ſhould deſcend to his heirs male. "This being your intention, added Laurence de Viegas, is it your pleaſure that he be inveſted with the enſigns of royalty?" The people having anſwered in the affirmative, the archbiſhop of Braga placed the crown upon his head, the king having his ſword drawn in his hand. Then turning to the aſſembly he ſaid, "Bleſſed be God, who has always aſſiſted me, and has enabled me to deliver you from the hands of all your enemies with this ſword, which I ſhall ever wear for your defence. You have made me a king, and it is but juſt that you ſhould ſhare with me in taking care of the ſtate. I am your king, and as ſuch let us make laws proper to ſecure the tranquility of this kingdom." He accordingly conſulted with the prelates and nobility, and having framed eighteen ſhort ſtatutes, they were aſſented to by the people. At length Laurence de Viegas propoſed the great queſtion, whether it was their pleaſure the king ſhould go to Leon, do homage, and pay tribute to that prince, or to any other? Upon which every man drawing his ſword, cried with a loud voice, "We are free, and our king is free, and we owe our liberty to our courage, and if he ſhall at any time ſubmit to ſuch an act, he deſerves death, and ſhall not reign either over us, or amongſt us." King Alonſo riſing up approved this declaration, and declared, that if any of his deſcendants conſented to ſuch a ſubmiſſion, he was unworthy to ſucceed him, and ſhould be reputed incapable of wearing the crown. The people in their turn having approved the king's declaration, the aſſembly was diſſolved [u].

By the aſſiſtance of the Croſſes he reduces the city and haven of Liſbon.

Next year the king, very probably by the advice of the nobility and clergy of his realm, judged it expedient to marry, and made choice of the princeſs Mafalda, or Mathilda, daughter to Amadeus count of Maurienne and Savoy, which marriage was celebrated with ſuitable magnificence, and to the general joy and ſatisfaction of his ſubjects. When this ſolemnity was over, he ſpent ſome

[u] Hiſtoire generale de Portugal, par Lequien de la Neufville, Brandan, E. Nunez de Leon as Cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Gaſpar Eſtago, Garibay, Damian de Goes, Vaſconcellos, Faria y Souſa, le Clede, Mayerne, Turquet.

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time in visiting the several provinces of his dominions, giving directions for rebuilding such places as either through time, or the rage of war had been brought to decay, and resettling episcopal sees in such places as were known to have enjoyed that honour in the time of the Goths; and at this season, in all probability, he made a vow of building a noble monastery for monks of the Cistertian order, in case Providence blessed him with success in the great enterprize then in his mind. This was the recovery of Lisbon out of the hands of the Moors, and it is said, that he invested it with a powerful army: but it is probable the reader will scarce credit this assertion, when he hears the place was defended by a garrison of two hundred thousand men. It is a strange thing that men of parts and learning will disfigure their histories not only with improbabilities, but impossibilities, and put it thereby out of the power of those who come after them to do that justice to the courage and conduct of their ancestors, to which they are sincerely inclined. All we can collect from their relations, amounts to no more than this, that the king undertook this siege with a small army, and that he was able to make but little progress in it, partly from the strength of the place, and partly from the numerous garrison that was in it. At length, very fortunately for Don Alonso, a fleet of adventurers, French, English, Germans, and Flemings, that were going to the Holy Land, anchored at the mouth of the river Tagus, whose assistance he demanded, as not altogether foreign to their purpose of making war upon the infidels, and his request was readily granted. Here again we are oppressed with absurdities and impossibilities; for, exclusive of a king of Denmark, a duke of Burgundy, and other princes whom we cannot find out, we are assured that the fleet and army was commanded by William Longsword duke of Normandy, who flourished only two hundred years before this event happened. But whoever these adventurers were, or whoever commanded them, it was by their help that king Alonso took the place, and having gratified them out of the plunder, they departed well satisfied [w]. This conquest so raised this monarch's reputation, and brought such numbers to recruit his victorious army, that before he quitted the field he added Mafra, Almada, Palmela, Cintra, A.D. 1147.

[w] Fr. Bosquetus. Robert du Mont, Roger in Steph. Johan. Bromton, Nic. Trivet, Helmod. Chron. lib. i. cap. lx. Faria y Sousa, Histoire Generale du Portugal, par le Clede, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

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Obidos, Trancoso, Alenquez, Serpa, Beja, Elvas, Coruche, and Cezimbra, to his dominions [x].

A D. 1148. The king, sensible, that the glory of a monarch arises no less from knowing how to keep, than how to acquire, very wisely applied himself to put all the places he had lately conquered into repair, and to provide as far as possible for their protection and preservation. Amongst other cares of this sort, he restored the episcopal see of Lisbon, and appointed Don Gilbert, an English divine, whom he had prevailed upon to stay with him instead of going to the Holy Land, the first bishop of that see [y]. He also founded in the pleasant town of Alcobaco, so called from its standing between the two rivers Alcoa and Baca, in pursuance of his vow, a royal convent, which was amply endowed, and which he intended for the burial place of the kings of Portugal. He prosecuted the war against the infidels without relaxation; and sent an ambassador to Rome to support his cause against the emperor, as well as that of the archbishop of Braga, with whom the archbishop of Toledo had a long suit about the primacy [z]. Many years after this transaction, Don Alonso procured a bull from Pope Alexander the Third for the confirmation of his regal dignity: all steps of this kind being directed to the same end, which was freeing his country from all vassalage to the crown of Leon.

Governs his dominions with great prudence, diligence, and prosperity.

Don Alonso having with great courage and indefatigable diligence cleared the province of Estremadura and Beira from infidels, became entirely master of four of the six provinces that compose the kingdom of Portugal, and raised the reputation of his arms to a very high degree. He was no less provident in peopling and improving, than enterprizing in the acquisition of territories: it was one maxim of his policy to invite and allure strangers, who either came into his country on the account of trade, or, during the long progress of the holy war, put into his ports for refreshment, to remain and settle amongst his subjects.

He was seconded in all his great and good designs by his queen Mathilda, a princess equally famous for her exquisite beauty and singular piety. She was also conspicuous for her great capacity, which she discovered in the ma-

[x] Histoire Generale de Portugal, par Lequien de la Neufville. [y] Faria y Sousa, Ferreras, le Clede [z] Chron. Var. Antiq. Chronica del Emperador de Espana Don Alonso, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne, Turquet.

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nagement of civil affairs, when the protection of his subjects called the king her husband into the field. By her he had a numerous offspring, which enabled him to strengthen his interests by great alliances. His eldest daughter Donna Mafalda, or Mathilda, he married to Don Alonso king of Arragon; his second, Donna Urraca, to Don Ferdinand king of Leon, the son of his old antagonist the emperor Don Alonso; and the third, Donna Theresa, to Philip earl of Flanders[a]. The marriage of his second daughter did not prevent him from having disputes with his son-in-law Don Ferdinand, who had the good fortune once to make him prisoner, and the generosity and good sense to remember that he was his father-in-law, and to forget that he had been his enemy. When this misfortune befel him, he met also with another, that of breaking his leg, which, through his impatience, rendered him after so lame that he was unable to mount on horseback; a circumstance which the superstitious in those days ascribe to the curses of his mother; but some writers, who were perhaps better informed, give us another account of the matter. They say, that his impatience to recover his liberty, induced him to submit to the hard condition which Don Ferdinand imposed, of coming in person to Leon, there to do homage for his dominions as soon as he should be able to mount on horseback; and that for this reason he ever afterwards affected to drive in a calash, and would never get on horseback more. Notwithstanding this inconvenience, joined to the weight of years and infirmities, his courage transported him into the field, wherever the safety or the interest of his people called him; so that there was no relaxation in the whole course of his reign, but the same activity distinguished the latter, that had done honour to the earlier part of his administration. It is true, that the infant Don Sancho was a great stay and relief to his father, whom he very much resembled in the impetuosity of his valour, and his early affection for a military life; but as this heat perhaps made him unfortunate in his first enterprizes, so repeated checks rendered him more cautious, and taught him, that to be a great captain, conduct was at least as necessary as courage; and as he derived the former from nature, so, by degrees, time and experience taught him the latter[b].

Is very unfortunate in his war against his son-in-law Don Ferdinand king of Leon.

[a] Histoire Generale de Portugal, par Lequien de la Neufville, Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

[b] Brandan, Garibay, Damian de Goes, la Neufville, Ferreras, Mariana.

Towards

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Embarked, at the close of his reign in wars with the Christians and Moors.

Towards the latter end of the king's reign, an opportunity seemed to present itself, of obtaining once for all an entire release from the disagreeable pretensions of the king of Leon, and this was the quarrel between that monarch and his nephew Don Alonso of Castile. The latter sought the friendship of Portugal, and Don Alonso Enriquez closed too readily with the proposal. Don Ferdinand of Leon having intelligence of the measures they had concerted, and that the infant Don Sancho was advancing towards Ciudad Rodrigo, assembled his troops on the frontier with such diligence, that he was enabled to attack the infant very unexpectedly, and, after a warm dispute, defeated him[c]. The Portuguese writers are silent upon this head, though, in its consequences, this untoward event proved very beneficial to their country; for Don Ferdinand understanding that the infant, piqued at his disgrace, was recruiting his forces with great diligence, gave him to understand, that they might be much better employed against the infidels, who, expecting the issue of this war, remained careless and unprepared. Don Sancho made proper use of this salutary advice, and after some motions purely for amusement, made a sudden irruption into Andalusia, penetrating as far as Triana, which is one of the suburbs of Seville. The Mooriſh alcaydes assembled as great a force as they were able, in order to attack him on his retreat. The infant Don Sancho having fatigued them first by the celerity of his march, at length chose a strong camp, and having given his troops some time to repose, drew them out, and offered the enemy battle, in which being victorious, he returned into Portugal with spoils to an immense value. Next year Aben Jacob, lieutenant for the miramamolin, to revenge this affront, made an irruption into Portugal, and besieged Abrantes, on the banks of the Tayo; but upon the infant Don Sancho's advancing towards him with the troops of Portugal, he retired. The year following the miramamolin sent both a fleet and army out of Barbary, and expressly directed that they should be employed in a joint expedition against Portugal. Don Fuas Raupino, who commanded on the frontier, and who had a stronger corps of troops than the Moors expected, posted them behind the rocks adjacent to a little castle, which Gama, alcayde of Merida, who commanded the infidels by land, was obliged to attack. While he was busy in this service Don

A.D. 1178.

[c] Chron. Var. Antiq.

Fuas

Fuas fell upon him behind, routed his forces, and ſent him and his brother priſoners to the old king of Coimbra. The ſame gallant officer took the command of the fleet, and having routed one of the enemy's ſquadrons, ſent nine of their gallies to Liſbon, and then proceeded with twenty-one ſail to engage the Mooriſh fleet, compoſed of fifty-four large gallies. This act of temerity coſt them dear; for the Moors, having drawn this ſmall ſquadron towards the center, ſurrounded and deſtroyed them, ſo that the ſea, which had ſo lately furniſhed him with trophies, now ſupplied him with a tomb [d]. A. D. 1180.

Gains a glorious and complete victory over the latter at Santaren.

The war was continued without any very remarkable events for the next three years. Joſeph, king of Morocco, and emperor of the Almohades, having tranſported at ſeveral times both men and military ſtores into Andaluſia, at length followed in perſon, and having collected a prodigious army, under the command of thirteen alcaydes, ſwept all before him as far as the Tayo. He preſented himſelf before Santaren, into which, not able to keep the field, the infant Don Sancho had retired with a choice body of troops. There he ſuſtained for the ſpace of a week, ſeveral aſſaults; and, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the infidels, repulſed them with loſs, till, as the Spaniſh writers ſay, he was relieved by Don Ferdinand king of Leon, and the archbiſhop of Compoſtella; but as the Portugueſe writers affirm, by his father Don Alonſo, by whom the Moors being totally defeated, the miramamolin having received a wound from the hand of the infant Don Sancho, periſhed in repaſſing the river. This deciſive ſtroke was given upon Midſummer-day; and the conſternation of the infidels was ſo great, that they left the Portugueſe at liberty to improve the interior part of the country, and to fortify their frontiers all the next year.

Dies with the univerſal regret of his ſubjects, after a long and proſperous reign.

This repoſe was very ſeaſonable to the good old king, who paſſed his time at Coimbra, ſurrounded by his nobility and prelates, with whom he concerted the propereſt means for preſerving the territories he had gained by his arms, and the title beſtowed upon him by his people, without impeachment of any kind, till being quite worn out with cares and fatigue, he departed this life, to the great ſorrow of his ſubjects, on the 6th of December, 1185; having governed Portugal, from the time he aſ-

[d] Chron. Var. Antiq. Brandan, Faria y Souſa, Mayerne, Turquet.

ſumed

sumed the sovereign authority, fifty-seven years [e]. Some Portuguese historians make him ninety-one, others ninety-three years of age; but, according to our computation, which likewise agrees with the most accurate accounts, he was in the seventy-sixth year of his age at the time of his demise (C). His body was interred with great funeral solemnity in the church of the Holy Cross at Coimbra.

Don Sancho I. succeeds with much reputation, and governs very wisely.

Don Sancho succeeded his father in the flower of his age, being then in his thirty-first year. With him was seated on the throne Dulcia, the daughter of Raymond count of Barcelona, and sister of the king of Arragon. It must appear strange, that this prince, who before his accession was so extremely restless and unquiet, that he was almost continually in the field, from the moment he was seated on the throne became a lover of peace, and began to apply himself with great vigour to repair the cities that had suffered most by the war, and to repeople the country round them. He was also very solicitous in respect to their government, appointing magistrates every where, granting charters, and marking out, with great exactness, the several districts that were to depend upon every great

[e] Brandan, Chron. Var. Antiq. Annal. Toletan. Histoire Generale de Portugal, par Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede, Garivay, Damian de Goes, Vasconcellos, E. Nunez, Gaspar Estaco, Ant. Paes de Viegas, Monarchia Lusitana, Ferreras.

(C) According to the pictures that are preserved of this king, he was of a gigantic size, not less than seven foot high, his visage long, his eyes large, black, and full of fire, his mouth wide, his complexion good, and his hair inclining to red. He instituted two orders of knighthood: the first was that of the Wing, because in the battle of Santaren, against the Moors, he saw a winged arm fighting near him, which he took to be that of St. Michael. The other order was that of Avis; of which we shall speak more largely in another place, as it still flourishes in that kingdom with honour. It is also reported, that he received the order of St. James of Compostella, in a full assembly of the states, and by their consent (1). He was very generous to the knights Templars, and to the knights of St. John at Jerusalem, and was extremely respected in quality of an accomplished knight throughout all Europe, which may be one probable cause of the many absurd and incredible stories that we are told of his military exploits (2).

(1) D. Nunez de Leon, as Chronicas dos Reis de Portugal.
(2) Manuel Faria y Sousa Epitome de los Historias Portuguesas, lib. iii. cap. 2.

town

town in his dominions. His delight in, and steady attention to things of this nature, by which, in the space of a few years, he entirely altered the appearance of his territories, and out of ruined hamlets, and a country frequently ravaged by barbarous enemies, brought well-built towns and innumerable villages to the spectator's eye, procured him the glorious title of restorer of cities, and the father of his country. He was likewise solicitous in providing proper alliances for his family. With this view he very willingly bestowed his daughter Donna Theresa on the king of Leon, without considering the misfortunes that had arisen from the marriage of his own sister Donna Urraca with the father of this young prince, by which Donna Theresa stood in so near a relation to him, as brought the like difficulties and distresses upon them. So blind is ambitious policy, even when it pretends to foresee things at a great distance [f]!

Gains the adventurers who touch on his coasts, to render him important services.

A fleet composed, for the most part, of English vessels, having on board a great body of adventurers of all sorts, bound to the Holy Land, entering into the river of Lisbon, was very kindly received and supplied with all sorts of refreshments by the king Don Sancho, who took this opportunity of soliciting them to assist him in a design he had formed for attacking the city of Silves, in Algarve: to which request they readily yielded. He joined a squadron of his own gallies, and marched a body of troops by land; and though the place was well defended, it was at length taken, and the English, according to their agreement, were rewarded with the plunder, which was very rich [g]. This action so alarmed Jacob Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, that he passed the next year from Africa into Spain, with a great body of troops, and having joined the forces raised by his alcaydes, passed the Guadiana, and laid siege to Silves; but an English ship being in the harbour, all that were on board joined the garrison, and by their assistance the place was preserved. The king of Morocco then marched to Santaren, which was brought into great distress; but another fleet of adventurers arriving happily in the harbour of Lisbon, the king, by their help, and with the assistance of his son-in-law Don Ferdinand of Leon,

A.D. 1189.

[f] Zurita Annal. Arragon. Ant. Vasconcellos Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitaniæ, Histoire Generale de Portugal, par le Clede, Annal. Toletan. Ferreras. [g] E. Nunez de Leon as Cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Vasconcellos, Faria y Sousa, Rog. Hoveden, Ferreras.

forced

A.D.1190. forced the Moors to retire [h]. Next year, however, the emperor of Morocco returned into the kingdom of Algarve, with such a superior army, that he not only recovered Silves, but all the places the Portuguese had taken in that kingdom, while Don Sancho was forced to act upon
A.D.1191. the defensive. The war that followed between the Moors and the monarch of Castile, diverted their forces from the dominions of Portugal; but a body of troops, that Don Sancho sent as auxiliaries to the prince before mentioned, were cut to pieces in the fatal defeat at Alarcos. The kingdom of Portugal having been put under an interdict by the pope, on account of the marriage of the king of Leon with the infanta Donna Theresa, obliged the two monarchs to submit to the sentence of divorce; upon which, that innocent and unhappy princess returned to
A.D.1195. her father's court [i]. The arrival of a fleet of German and Flemish ships, furnished the means of recovering Silves once again out of the hands of the Moors; but Don Sancho, being sensible of the difficulties that would attend keeping it, caused it to be demolished. He then resolved to form a regular frontier for the protection of his subjects; and while he was thus employed, the queen Donna Dulcia died, to the great grief of the king, and of the whole nation [k].

Sustains his government, under a long train of calamities, by his steadiness.

In the course of this king's reign, there happened, as all the ancient writers agree, a long train of grievous calamities, which were considered as so many judgments from heaven; such as famines, pestilences, earthquakes, feuds amongst the nobility, and great quarrels and disputes amongst the clergy. These the monks took care to attribute to the obstinacy with which the king had opposed the marriage of his daughter, and to some other differences with the court of Rome; but these calumnies made no impression, except upon the vulgar. The king Don Sancho was in truth so far from being at all instrumental in bringing evils upon his people, that it was entirely owing to the vigilance and prudence of his conduct, that they did not suffer much more by these calamities, which were of such a nature, as in conjunction with the incursions of the infidels, must have ruined the kingdom, under an administration less frugal or less attentive to the welfare of the

[h] Hist. Gen. de Portugal, par Lequien de la Neufville, Mayerne, Turquet, Mariana, Le Clede. [i] Epist. Innocent III. Luc. Tudens. [k] Hist. Gen. de Portugal. par la Neufville, Mayerne, Turquet, Mariana, Ferreras.

subject.

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subject. Don Sancho was in reality the author of their domestic œconomy: he settled the limits of dioceses, and obliged their prelates to be content with them; he brought all the grants made to monasteries into exact order; he settled commanderies for all the knights of different kinds, that were established in his dominions; he abolished many bad customs that had been long in use, and others that had been lately borrowed from the Moors, from strangers, and from those who resorted to Portugal on many accounts; he connived, in some measure, at the sanguinary contentions amongst his nobility, that, by weakening their forces, his authority might at length take place, without any shew of tyranny, and with the general approbation of the wiser and better part of his subjects[l].

Reduces Elvas, and dies immensely rich.

His last enterprize was the reduction of Elvas, which the miramamolin, during the time of his superiority, had recovered, and with the conquest of which the king was extremely pleased. He caused the churches to be purified, the fortifications to be repaired, and, by granting many privileges and immunities, invited thither a multitude of new inhabitants. He is reputed to have been the best œconomist that ever sat upon the throne of Portugal; for, without oppressing his subjects with taxes, and being esteemed rather liberal than avaricious, he left behind him a treasure of upwards of seven hundred thousand crowns, in ready money, besides fourteen hundred marks of silver, and one hundred of gold plate, which he disposed of, some time before his death, by his last will and testament; for the due performance of which he took the infant Don Alonso's oath. Authors are not perfectly agreed as to the time of his death; those who are most accurate in other things fix it to the month of March, in the year 1212, when he had reigned twenty-six, and lived fifty-seven years. He was interred on the left side of the altar of the church of the Holy Cross, in Coimbra, Don Alonso lying on the right. His body being taken up four hundred years after, by order of the king Don Emanuel, that it might be placed in a new tomb, erected to his memory, was found uncorrupt[m].

Don Alonso succeeded his father at the age of twenty-seven, and is distinguished in the Portuguese history by the surname of the Fat. At the very entrance of his reign he did two very popular acts: he sent a body of infantry

[l] Faria y Sousa. [m] Ibid. Damian de Goes, E. Nunez, Garibay, Ferreras.

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Alonso II. seated on the throne, and, by quarreling with his brethren, embarasses the dawn of his government.

to the assistance of the king of Castile, who behaved with great reputation in the famous battle of Navas de Tolosa; and he gave the castle of Avis to the knights of that order, since distinguished by this title, upon which Don Ferdinand Yanez, their grand-master, removed thither from Evora[n]: but nevertheless, the lustre of his reign was eclipsed in the very dawn. His father had observed, that he had no great tenderness for his brethren and sisters, which induced him to put the former as much out of his power as possible, by making provision for them in money and jewels; and to the latter he gave some of the best places in the kingdom, with their revenues. To Donna Theresa, queen-dowager of Leon, he left Monte-major and Esquerra; and to Donna Sancha, Alanquer. The king laboured to persuade them, that it was not in his father's power to dismember his dominions; and when he found his eloquence vain, he had recourse to arms. The two princesses, who were much favoured by the nobility, defended themselves vigorously; and, at the same time, applied to the king of Leon, and to pope Innocent III. for their interposition, which they obtained. Don Ferdinand entering the dominions of Portugal, from Galicia, with an army, and the pontiff threatening an excommunication, Don Alonso endeavoured to defend himself against the one, and to excuse himself to the other. Authors differ about the success of the war with Leon; but they agree, that by the mediation of the crown of Castile, these differences were at last appeased: but, however, the peace of the royal family was so far from being restored, that the infant Don Ferdinand retired to the court of Castile, and the infant Don Pedro, who had served in the army of the king of Leon, withdrew after the peace, and demanded the protection of the miramamolin[o]. These events created great jealousies and heart-burnings amongst the Portuguese, some being moved by the king's arguments, and believing that one government only can subsist in one state; while others, whom Don Sancho had sworn to see his will obeyed, respected their oaths; and others again doubted the kindness of a prince to his subjects, who shewed so little to his own family.

The thunder of the pope's excommunication had some effect in Portugal, where, though it might not terrify the

[n] Brandan, Roderic, Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Luc. Tudens. Chron. Faria y Sousa, la Neufville, Le Clede. [o] Faria y Sousa, Ferreras, Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

king,

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king, yet it filled the minds of his subjects with such fears and uneasinesses, that Don Alonso could not help perceiving how much it was his interest to recover the good graces of pope Innocent the Third. He first sent his agents to represent, that his disputes with his sisters had no connection with ecclesiastical affairs; that the places his father had bestowed upon them belonged to the crown, and therefore he had no right to separate them from the rest of his dominions; that it was a dangerous precedent, and had a tendency to subvert a sovereignty, raised by the valour, and at the expence of the blood of the Portuguese, to whom Don Sancho, or at least his father, stood indebted for the crown he wore, and could not therefore lessen its value, by impairing its territories; and that the advantages gained by the king of Leon, and the party of the infantas, were no proofs of the justice of their cause, but were plainly beneficial to the infidels, by the losses they brought upon both kingdoms. This remonstrance was without effect, the pope was as obstinate as the king of Portugal; and at length Don Alonso found it expedient to be reconciled to his sisters, in order to have the excommunication recalled, which was accordingly done, and the king absolved with great solemnity [p]. The calm that was thus restored had not subsisted long before it was disturbed by the incursions of the Moors, who, from Alcaçar-do-Sal, where they had an impregnable fortress seated on a rock, came with such large corps of cavalry into the flat country, along the banks of the Tagus, that the king found it equally difficult to repel them, or to make himself master of a place, the neighbourhood of which occasioned him so much disturbance. However, a favourable accident enabled him to accomplish his wishes. The Germans and Flemings had equipped a numerous fleet, which, authors of established reputation assert, consisted of three hundred sail, with a great army on board, destined for the Holy Land. In their passage, being terribly shattered by tempests, they were constrained to put into the harbour of Lisbon to refit, at the time Don Alonso was forming an army that might block up at least, if not besiege Alcaçar. The king instantly deputed some of the principal persons among his clergy to solicit the crosses for their assistance, alleging, that as they might employ their arms against the

Compelled by the pope to compromise matters with his family.

By the assistance of the crosses takes Alcaçar-do-Sal, and defeats the Moorish army.

[p] Brandan, Ant. Vasconcellos, E. Nunez de Leon as Chronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Manuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas.

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Moors in Portugal, it would answer the ends of their vows as effectually as if they proceeded to the Holy Land. William earl of Holland, and most of the generals, came readily into this proposition; but about a third part of the fleet, with those on board it, quitted them out of a scruple of conscience, and as soon as they were able to put to sea, endeavoured to prosecute their voyage; in which endeavour, however, they were frustrated, and obliged to retire into a port of Italy, where they wintered. The earl of Holland, with most of the nobility and gentry, landed, and very frankly offered the king of Portugal their services. It was agreed, that they should proceed by sea and block up Alcaçar-do-Sal, while the Portuguese army, reinforced by the knights of all the military orders, marched and invested it by land. The Moors, knowing the importance of the place, and foreseeing the consequences that must follow from the loss of it, resolved to make their utmost efforts for its preservation. Accordingly the alcaydes of Seville, Jaen, Cordova, and Badajoz, marched an army of fifty thousand men to its relief; the Christians thereupon raised the siege, gave them battle, and defeated them, the alcaydes of Cordova and Jaen being in the number of the slain [q]. The Portuguese writers unanimously affirm, that the banner of the cross was displayed by angels; and that they were sensible of supernatural assistance in the battle. On the 21st of October the fortress surrendered, and was bestowed on the order of St. James; but notwithstanding the strongest applications that were made to pope Honorius, he would not be prevailed upon to permit the crosses to remain in Portugal another year. He was desirous of having these troops, and their commanders, at a greater distance.

A.D. 1217.

A.D. 1220. The progress of the war being thus interrupted, civil dissensions broke out afresh; the people complained of the severity of the laws; the archbishop of Braga took it amiss, that the king expected the clergy should contribute in troops and money to defend the kingdom against the infidels, and excommunicated those who attempted to levy such taxes by the royal authority; upon which the king seized his revenues, and oliged him to quit his dominions [r].

Differs with his clergy, and dies under ecclesiastical censures, and his dominions under an interdict.

q Ant. Vasconcellos Anacephalæosis, id est, summa Capita Actorum Regum Lusitaniæ, Godefrid Monach, Matt. Paris, Alberic, Histoire Generale de Portugal, par le Clede, Ferreras, Histoire de Espagne, par. vi. sect. xiii. Brandan, Lequien de la Neufville Histoire Generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 112, 113, 114. r Rainald, Brandan, Ferreras, Histoire de Espagne.

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In the midst of these troubles died queen Urraca, on the 3d of November [s]. Next year the pope, by his commissioners, excommunicated the king, and put his dominions under an interdict, which of consequence threw things into the utmost confusion; to put an end to which the king, though a prince of great spirit, entered into a kind of negociation with his subjects; but while this was depending, Providence removed him out of this life on the 25th of March, 1223, in the twelfth year of his reign [t], and before any thorough reconciliation had taken place between him and his sisters. He was interred with little ceremony, under a plain tomb, in the conventual church of Alcobaça (D). His kingdom was left in great confusion, as having been for many months under an interdict, which, depriving the people of all exterior offices of religion, threw them first into a maize, and next into a dissolute course of life, and a contempt of all religion, from whence they were not easily recovered. But at Rome this was little considered, because they knew that the nobility, and better sort of people, feeling the bad effects of such a degeneracy in manners, would be more assiduous to bring their monarch, and his ministers, right or wrong, to a compliance with the pontiff's pleasure.

Don Sancho II. succeeds his father, and begins his reign with great reputation.

Don Sancho the Second, surnamed Sancho with the Hood, succeeded his father when about twenty years of age; a prince of a gentle spirit, and much more indebted to nature than to education. He no sooner ascended the throne than he found himself oppressed by the mischiefs that had sunk his father into his grave in the flower of his age; that is, the quarrel with the clergy and the princesses his aunts [u]. In regard to these two difficult points,

[s] Lequien de la Neufville, tom. i. p. 115. Mayerne, Turquet. [t] Ant. Vasconcellos, Mariana. [u] E. Nunez de Leon as Cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Luc. Tudens. Chron. Brandan, Ant. Vasconcellos, Mariana, Ferreras.

(D) This king was in his person above the common size, and very fat, though his height hindered it from being disagreeable to the eye; his forehead large and open; his eyes full of vivacity; the rest of his features regular; his complexion delicate, and his hair of a bright red, which he wore long, flowing upon his shoulders. He was very brave, as well as uncommonly strong, and exposed himself so much in the field, that he was once buried under the slain, and with great difficulty drawn out alive. He was a great promoter of justice; but it was not the name he loved, but the thing, which rendered his conduct liable to misrepresentation.

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he took very different measures. He intimated to the archbishop of Braga, that men had no right to be judges in their own causes; that if he would leave the disputes between the crown and the church to the arbitration of ecclesiastics of established characters, he was disposed to give them whatever satisfaction they should judge reasonable; and the prelate having condescended to this reference, satisfaction was accordingly given, and the interdict removed [x]. This young prince was not so complaisant to the infantas as he had been submissive to the priests; he insisted upon the surrender of the fortresses they held, and threatened to reduce them by force. His aunts had recourse to the king of Leon, who entered Portugal with an army, and either took or had some places surrendered to him. Don Sancho sent him word, that he had no inclination to kindle a war between the two nations; that he meant no injury or injustice to his aunts, but that one king in one realm was sufficient: upon these grounds the dispute was referred to arbitration; and the decision was, that the infantas should do homage to the king; that the inhabitants of their towns should acknowlege his authority, but that they should enjoy all the rents and revenues to their own use. Security being given on both sides for the due performance of articles, the places taken were restored, and Don Sancho left in the free possessions of his kingdom; which however was sadly rent into factions through the too great power of the nobility.

Visits most parts of his territories; does vast charities, and many acts of justice.

As soon as peace was restored, the king thought proper to visit his territories, to receive homage from his subjects, and to regulate whatever might have fallen into confusion during the disturbance of his father's government. In this progress he did justice, and left marks of compassion and mercy wherever he came. He afterwards turned his arms against the Moors, in conjunction with the king of Leon, and obtained several advantages against them, uniting, amongst other places, the town of Serpa to his dominions [y]. Pope Innocent the Fourth sent the cardinal bishop of Sabina to hold a council in Portugal, in order to reform the corruption of manners, which, through the interdict cast upon that kingdom by his predecessor, had been chiefly introduced. Where he held that council does not appear, or what was done in it; all we know is, that the legate ob-

[x] Brandan, Rainald, Manuel de Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville, Ferreras. [y] Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan. Ant. Vasconcellos, E. Nunez.

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liged the king to engage, that whatever canons were made therein ſhould be ſtrictly executed. The king ſhewed great juſtice in the quarrel between St. Ferdinand, king of Caſtile and Leon, and his ſiſters, which he might eaſily have improved to his own advantage. That monarch was ſo ſenſible of his integrity, that, having had an interview with Don Sancho at Sabugal, he reſtored to him the fortreſs of Chaves, of which his father had been diſpoſſeſſed [z]. Some ſtirs ſtill continued amongſt the clergy in Portugal, where it is on all hands agreed, that their diſcipline was very much relaxed. The king himſelf was very intent on carrying on the war againſt the Moors, and advanced once more into the kingdom of Algarve; where he might probably have done great things, if he had not been perplexed with perpetual complaints againſt him to the court of Rome. As it was, he reduced ſeveral ſmall places, and kept his own dominions entirely free from thoſe unwelcome viſits of the infidels to which they had been formerly expoſed. A.D. 1235.

A ſudden and ſtrange turn in his ſubjects diſpoſitions to this monarch's ruin.

Hitherto Don Sancho had maintained his credit with his ſubjects tolerably well; and they were content to allow, that a prince very affable in his manners, brave in his perſon, who did good to many, and injury to none, was a bleſſing. But now, by a ſtrange turn of fortune, many of the nobility, forgetting their duty to the king, committed great exorbitancies; and becauſe he did not puniſh theſe, when in truth it was out of his power, the people began to clamour againſt him. The infant Don Ferdinand, having violated the immunities of the church, the prelates, notwithſtanding the miſchief done by the laſt, had recourſe to another interdict; and the king, though he had no ſhare in the offence, was obliged to make a deep ſubmiſſion, while the infant made a tour to Rome, and underwent a ſevere penance before he could be again received into the church. It was from theſe troubles, which had their ſource in the too great lenity of the king towards a lazy and luxurious nobility, that thoſe terrible diſorders aroſe, which afterwards threw the kingdom into confuſion, and drove him out of his dominions.

The cauſes, pretended and real, of this great deſection of the people.

The bulk of the Portugueſe writers agree, that their king Don Sancho eſpouſed, not long after his acceſſion, Donna Mencia, the daughter of Don Lopes Dias de Haro, lord of Biſcay, by Donna Urraca, the natural daughter of Alonſo, the

[z] Rainald Chron. St. Fernand. Ferreras, Lequien de la Neufville, tom. i. p. 121.

ninth king of Caſtile, a lady of exquiſite beauty [a]; who held Don Sancho in ſuch cloſe captivity, and governed his thoughts and actions with an influence ſo arbitrary, that, according to the ſuperſtitious notions of thoſe times, ſhe was believed to have diſturbed his ſenſes by a draught, as if ſuch effects were not every day wrought without any other charms than thoſe which the ſex derive from nature. Thoſe who were about the king, who loved his perſon, and ſupported his authority, were ſtigmatized, to render them odious in the ſight of the people, by the name of favourites, and ſaid to hold their employments, not through merit, or even the king's choice, but the recommendation of the queen. The clergy, who had not ſo great power at court as they deſired, concurred in and conducted this clamour, which, as we obſerved before, had its firſt riſe from the youthful errors of the infant Don Ferdinand. Don Pedro of Portugal, an older man, and who had ſeen more of the world, was in the ſecret of the male-contents, and fomented thoſe confuſions, which he hoped might at leaſt place regal power in his hands, if not the regal title; which ambitious ſcheme did the king great miſchief, though it did himſelf no good; a fate common enough to ſuch diſturbers of the public peace [b].

Conqueſts gained notwithſtanding, by their forces under the king's auſpices againſt the Moors.

The king Don Sancho, ſeeing his nobility rent in factions, and finding it impoſſible to carry on the war againſt the Moors in perſon, and in a manner ſuitable to his dignity, committed the care of it to Don Pelayo Correa, of the order of St. James; who, with the help of the knights of that and other orders, performed great things in Algarve; the king himſelf, before he quitted the army, having taken Elvas, and thereby effectually ſecured the province of Alentejo. Don Pelayo was a nobleman, who, with the moſt intrepid courage, had a large proportion of coolneſs and prudence, which enabled him to take every advantage offered by the diſputes amongſt the Moors, who at this time had thrown off the yoke of the miramamolin, and by forming various ſmall principalities, while they thought in their own imagination to ſtrengthen their reſpective ſovereignties, were in reality compaſſing their common deſtruction [c]. Don Pelayo, who ſaw this error clearly, took ſometimes a town from one, and ſometimes

[a] Manuel de Faria y Souſa, Apt. Vaſconſellos Monarchia Lu-ſitania. [b] E. Nunez de Leon as Cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras. [c] Manuel de Faria y Souſa, Lequien de la Neufville, Ferreras.

a town

a town from another; and at length understanding, while he was employed in one of these sieges, that Aben Afan, governor of Silves, was in full march, with the greatest part of his garrison, for the relief of Paderna, before which he lay, raised the siege in the night, and by another road arrived unexpectedly before Silves, and invested it. The Mooriſh general, to repair one miſtake committed another; he drew out the forces that were in the laſt mentioned place, and returned with all poſſible expedition to Silves. He attacked the Chriſtians in their camp, with forces harraſſed by their great fatigue; and, after a briſk aſſault, was repulſed. Thoſe in the town making an effort at the ſame time, were likewiſe driven back, the Chriſtians entering with them into the city, which, by this means, was ſuddenly and unexpectedly taken; and the caſtle, which was very ſtrong, ſoon after ſurrendered upon terms. The reputation of this conqueſt brought great reinforcements to Don Pelayo, who returned by a quick march to Paderna, and having given the neceſſary orders, before the troops were in motion, began a general aſſault as ſoon as he came before the place, which was preſently taken by ſtorm, and moſt of the inhabitants put to the ſword [d]. Theſe great exploits, however, deprived Don Sancho of this able officer; for Don Rodrigo Yniquez, grand-maſter of St. James, dying at this juncture, the commanders elected Don Pelayo, upon which he went to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity in Caſtile [e]. A.D. 1242.

The regency of Portugal conferred, by Innocent IV. on the infant Don Alonſo.

It was not long before the loſs of this able and fortunate general was ſeverely felt, from the incurſions made by the infidels into the territories of Portugal. This misfortune the malecontents placed to the account of the king, and made it one of their principal motives for applying to the pope, in order to his being deprived of the adminiſtration as a prince, who was either negligent or incapable of government. Some hiſtorians very honeſtly confeſs, that they had come much nearer the truth, if they had owned themſelves incapable of being governed; for after all they could fix nothing upon the king, and not much upon thoſe whom they ſtyled his favourites [f]. There was a ſpirit of faction and anarchy abroad; and the king and his friends were forced to exert what little ſtrength they had, in order to compel obedience to the ſovereign's commands, in points of the greateſt conſequence to the

[d] E. Nunez, Le Clede, Brandan. [e] Rades. [f] Mayerne, Turquet, Rainald, Ant. Vaſconcellos.

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public safety. Pope Innocent IV. had called a general council at Lyons, in France, where he and his prelates deposed the emperor Frederic; thither the Portuguese commissioners, who were the archbishop of Braga, the bishops of Porto and Coimbra, and two noblemen, repaired. Having set forth their business, the pope very roundly, on
A D. 1245. the 24th of July, deprived Don Sancho of the administration [g] of his dominions, and declared his brother Don Alonso regent; that prince being at Paris, the commissioners repaired thither, and, upon the 6th of September, administered an oath to him, that he should execute the office of regent faithfully. The infant Don Alonso went immediately to Bologne, where he settled the government of that county in the hands of his consort, to whom it of right belonged, and then prepared for his voyage to Portugal. In the mean time, as most writers say, Raymond Portocarrero seized upon the person of the queen Donna Mencia, and carried her away prisoner, so that she was never heard of more. This outrage affected the king in such a manner, that he resolved to provide for his own safety, and accordingly withdrew into the territories of St. Ferdinand, king of Castile, where he was very kindly received by the infant Don Alonso, who wrote to the pope in his behalf; and after insinuating how dangerous a precedent he had made, suggested many reasons to prove, that the regent Don Alonso was in reality the author of those miseries, which were falsely ascribed to the king. How much soever this act of friendship, and the high honours that were paid him, might console Don Sancho under his misfortunes, they did not in the least relieve them: however, the prince Don Alonso promised, and did all that was in his power to keep his word [h], and would have kept it effectually, provided the pontiff had not interposed.

A.D. 1246. As general as the defection seemed to be in Portugal, some of the most considerable among the nobility adhered steadily to their duty, and garrisoned several places of strength for the king: amongst these, Ovedos, Celerico, and Coimbra, were the chief. The regent Don Alonso left nothing unattempted, in order to shake the fidelity of their governors, but without effect. At length he caused

Attempt made by the king to recover his territories, by the assistance of St. Ferdinand.

[g] Epist. Innocent IV. Rainald, Lequien de la Neufville, Brandan, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras, Mariana.
[h] Chron. St. Ferdinand, Ant. Vasconcellus, Roderic Toletan. de Reb. Hispan.

Ovedos

Ovedos to be beſieged, and reduced by force. This example, he judged, would have frighted the reſt, but he was miſtaken. Don Ferdinand Rodriguez Pacheco defended Celerico with ſuch obſtinacy, that the regent was compelled to raiſe the ſiege [i]. Don Ferdinand of Caſtile beſieged Seville next year, then in the hands of the Moors; but the prince Don Alonſo prevailed upon him to ſpare a part of his army for the ſervice of his unfortunate friend, with whom he entered Portugal, and bore down all before him, till the regent ſent ſome prieſts into his army, who, by ſcattering the pope's bulls in favour of the new government, and threatening excommunication to all who oppoſed it, ſtruck ſuch terror into the army of Caſtile, that the king, the prince, and Don Lopez de Haro, thought it expedient to retire: but the lords of the king's party were proof againſt the bulls, and every thing elſe, and took the advantage of this invaſion to recruit their garriſons and re-victual their fortreſſes; ſo that the regent found himſelf obliged to beſiege Coimbra in form [k].

Being diſappointed in this expedition, he retires to Toledo, and dies.

The unfortunate Don Sancho returned again to Toledo, where he ſpent the ſhort remainder of his days in acts of penitence and piety, and dying [l], in the month of January, 1248, was interred with great magnificence in the cathedral of that city, no leſs deplored by the Caſtilian than by the few Portugueſe noblemen, who were the companions of his diſgrace. Such was the melancholy end of this reign, in its twenty-fifth year. Here it ought naturally to conclude; but as the Portugueſe hiſtorians add another event, the reader will probably excuſe us for following their example. Martin Freitas, who defended Coimbra, gave the regent Don Alonſo ſo much trouble, that as ſoon as he had the news of his brother's death, he ſent him notice of it; but the governor would not believe him, upon which he offered him a paſs, and an eſcort to go to Toledo, which he accepted. When he went thither, he demanded to ſee his maſter's body; when the tomb being opened for that purpoſe, he depoſited the keys of Coimbra by his ſide. After they had lain a little time, he deſired his leave to deliver them to his brother, and ſo taking them up, returned back to his garriſon [m]; an action which appeared heroic and extraordinary even to Spaniards.

[i] Brandan, Ferreras. [k] Turquet, Mariana, Lequin de la Neufville. [l] Lequien de la Neufville, Manuel de Faria y Souſa, E. Nunez, Ant. Vaſconcellos, Ferreras, Le Clede, Mariana. [m] Faria y Souſa, Lequien de la Neufville.

Don

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Don Alonso III. succeeds his brother, and enters into a war with the Moors.

Don Alonso III. ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and was certainly a prince of very great abilities, exclusive of his immeasurable ambition, to gratify which he had corrupted many of his brother's subjects, and bribed several governors to deliver up the places they held: but being once become the legal monarch of Portugal, he changed the scene, had little or no regard to such as had served him at the expence of their honour; but received all the lords who had been in his brother's interest to the last into his favour and councils. amongst these was Martin Frietas, governor of Coimbra, whom he continued in his office, refusing to accept of him either homage or an oath of fidelity, which favour he would have extended by patent to four generations; but Martin told him bluntly, that though it was a good compliment, it was a bad precedent; and that he would lay his curse upon any one of his posterity who should dare to command in the king's town without having first rendered homage, and sworn allegiance. The king, more and more struck with this man's virtue, submitted, and allowed him to take the government in his own way[a]. In the second year of his reign, he made a great irruption into Algrave, having a good fleet upon the coast, as well as a numerous army, with which he besieged the city of Faro, then esteemed the capital of the Moorish territories; which, after a long siege, submitted, the Moors promising upon oath, to be the king's obedient subjects. It fell out otherwise at Loule, a town of no great strength, lying to the north-west of Faro, but very populous. Though the king, over and over, offered them good terms, they obstinately persisted in their resolution to defend the place. Then he caused it to be attacked; and being carried by storm, every living creature in it was put to the sword; which rigorous severity frighted all the adjacent country into submission, and thereby added a considerable district to the dominions of Portugal.

Acts with great prudence and address in his domestic administration.

These enterprizes, undertaken with spirit, and executed with prudence, raised his reputation at home and abroad, rendered him respected by his neighbours, and dreaded by his enemies. His conduct in civil affairs was no less laudable: while he stood upon so good terms with his subjects, he held an assembly of the states, in which he suggested several wise and just laws, which were readily enacted, and by these he was enabled to reform a multi-

[a] Brandan, Faria y Sousa, La Neufville, Mariana, Ferreras.

tude

tude of abuſes. His power and his popularity were by theſe means ſo much increaſed, that he did, without much difficulty, what his brother ought to have done, and would have done, if he had been able; that is, he puniſhed the licentious and the factious; but he puniſhed them ſingly, and in the moſt diſtant parts of his dominions, taking care to efface immediately, by a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Moors, the memory of any puniſhments that became neceſſary at home. He took care likewiſe to remain upon good terms with pope Innocent IV. who had many eſſential reaſons for paying great attention to the king of Portugal, from whoſe dominions he drew a large revenue, and of whoſe maritime power he ſtood ſometimes in great need: in a word, Don Alonſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſoldier in the field, and as a ſtateſman in the cabinet, with no ſmall reputation to himſelf, and with great advantage to his crown and ſubjects. A.D. 1251.

Eſpouſes Donna Beatrix, the natural daughter of Don Alonſo the Wiſe.

The proſperity which had hitherto attended his councils and his arms, elevated his thoughts ſo much, that, having puſhed his conqueſts ſouthward within ſight of the ocean, he began to think of extending his frontiers on the Eaſt, being equally tempted by the weakneſs of the Moors, and by the beauty and fertility of Andaluſia. His next irruption, therefore, was on that ſide; and his deſign was to deſpoil Mohammed Aben Afon, king of Niebla, of his ſmall territories, an aim which he might have eaſily accompliſhed; but Mohammed having put himſelf under the protection of Don Alonſo the Wiſe, who had lately ſucceeded St. Ferdinand in the kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon, demanded ſuccours of that monarch, who took the field with a powerful army, and, making uſe of his ſuperiority, over-run the kingdom of Algarve, and erected the town of Silves into a biſhoprick [o]. The king of Portugal was too wiſe a prince not to diſcern the danger he was in; and therefore had recourſe to the interpoſition of the pope, who readily interfered, and diſpoſed Don Alonſo the Wiſe to liſten to an accommodation [p]. Don Alonſo of Portugal, underſtanding that this prince had a great affection for a natural daughter of his, Donna Beatrix, whom he had in his youth by Donna Maria de Guzman, diſcovered an inclination to marry her, to which the king of Caſtile very readily conſented, notwithſtanding there were many, and amongſt theſe ſome very ſtrong, obſtacles to ſuch a marriage. A.D. 1253.

[o] Brandan, Lequien de la Neufville, Ferreras. [p] Rainald, Cronica del Rey Don Alonſo el Sabio, Manuel de Faria y Souſa.

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marriage. In the first place, the king had already a wife; but he found certain divines who judged her sterility a sufficient cause to dissolve that marriage. In the next place, the ties of consanguinity stood in the way; but by his interest with the pope, it was hoped a dispensation might be obtained. Besides all this, there was a great disproportion in point of age, Don Alonso was in his forty-third year, and Donna Beatrix not ten. However, the marriage was concluded; and the monarch of Castile gave the kingdom of Algarve, reserving homage, and the town of Silves, in dowry with his daughter [q]. Next year the king of Portugal had another assembly of the states at Leyria, where several useful regulations were made, and the interior concerns of the kingdom settled, to the general satisfaction of all his subjects, except the clergy (E).

A.D. 1254.

This marriage disapproved by the pope, and the kingdom put under an interdict.

The marriage between Don Alonso and Donna Beatrix, was celebrated as soon as that lady was turned of twelve years of age, and the rejoicings on that subject were hardly over, before pope Alexander IV. who had succeeded Innocent, on the application of the countess Matilda, directed the archbishop of Compostella to separate the king and queen till the merits of the cause could be heard,

[q] Rainald, E. Nunez, Ferreras, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede.

(E) Algarve is the most southern of all the provinces of Portugal, being bounded on that side, as well as on the west, by the ocean; on the east by Andalusia, from which it is separated by the Guadiana; on the north by a ridge of hills, called Sierras de Calderaon, which divides it from the province of Alentejo. It is in all respects, perhaps, the best fortified country by nature in the world, since the steep banks of the Guadiana, and the mountains behind them, may be considered as impenetrable barriers; and the same thing may be affirmed of the mountains of Calderaon (1). It extends about twenty-seven leagues in length, but is scarce any where so many miles broad, though there are commonly reckoned about thirty-five leagues of coast: but this narrow space produces great abundance of corn, that which grows about Cape St. Vincent being esteemed the best in Portugal. Besides this, there are numberless vineyards, and whole woods of fig-trees, which with raisins, almonds, and a plentiful fishery upon its coasts, have justly gained it the reputation of a very rich country. In ancient times it had the title of a county, and Don Alonso was the first who assumed the title of monarch of Portugal and Algarve.

(1) Nunez, Colmenar, de la Neufville.

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to which separation the king would not give ear. The countess herself made a tour to Compostella, to quicken the motions of the pope's legate [r]. Some Portuguese historians say, that she came to Cascaes in that kingdom by sea; but the fabulous circumstances they add, destroy the credit of this relation. All we know with certainty is, that the countess returned into France, and applied herself to St. Lewis; and that the pope's legate, finding the king obstinate, put his kingdom under an interdict [s]. The king remained, notwithstanding, inflexible; and having brought his nobility into subjection, proceeded in repairing, fortifying, and peopling his dominions, with so much the more spirit, as he had now a son and a daughter to inherit them. In the mean time, Alexander being succeed by Urban IV. Don Alonso resolved to try whether he might not be softened; and while he meditated this application, the countess Matilda died, and not only forgave him on her death-bed, but left him also a very considerable sum of money, as a testimony of her sincerity. These lucky incidents induced the king to call a general assembly of his clergy, upon whom he prevailed to address themselves unanimously to the pope on the behalf of himself and his family, which they did; and pope Urban, at their request, granted a dispensation, legitimated the children of Donna Beatrix, and removed the interdict, the rather because it had hardly ever been observed. In order to prevent all disputes in succeeding times with the crown of Castile, the two kings caused the boundaries between their respective dominions to be settled by commissioners, and recognized this settlement by a solemn act dated the 5th of June. At the same time the homage of Algrave was reduced to the sending fifty lances to the assistance of the monarch of Castile, when demanded; and in all probability Silves was likewise restored, since we find it in the next year in the hands of the king of Portugal, who augmented the privileges of its inhabitants [t]. The happy issue of his enterprizes, and the flourishing state of his territories, occasioned by his frequent progress from one part of them to another, induced the king to extend the authority of the crown, and to oblige the clergy, and even the prelates, to contribute to the welfare of the state, and to the discharge of those expences which he thought requisite for

A.D. 1257.

A.D. 1262.

[r] Brandan, Rainald, Ferreras. [s] La Neufville, Faria y Sousa.
[t] Histoire Generale de Portugal, par Neufville, Faria y Sousa, Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio.

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the safety and welfare of his people. This measure quickly revived the old disputes; and Martin, archbishop of Braga, pushed things so far as to put the kingdom again
A.D 1268. under an interdict; after which step he made his escape to Rome.

Obtains an exemption from all claims from Castile, by an act of address.

It appeared, however, necessary to Don Alonso to give the pope very strong assurances of his respect and obedience; and at the same time to inform him, that the prelates who had quitted his kingdom, did it without any real necessity, and that they might return without any apprehensions. He then went with his queen and the infant Denis, heir apparent of his dominions, to Seville, to pay a visit to her father, who was so well pleased with his grandson, that for his sake he remitted all claims whatsoever upon the crown of Portugal, and declared its monarchs free from all kind of homage, a condescension which gave his subjects no small offence [u]. After he returned into Portugal, Don Alonso dispossessed the knights of several orders of the places they held, and annexed them to the crown, under various pretences; but, in reality, he thought fortresses in the hands of subjects a thing incompatible with the safety of the monarchy. These, and some other steps, being taken, he began to think it time to perfect his reconciliation with the pope, and, after various altercations, called an assembly of the states at Santaren, to enquire into and redress the grievances of the clergy; but as this did not produce immediately all that was expected from it,
A.D. 1277. the pope talked in higher terms, and threatened to release his subjects from their obedience and their oaths of fidelity [w].

The whole reign of Don Alonso was a scene of policy well conceived, and executed with very great address. The king rewarded and punished with equal justice (F). He

[u] Ferreras, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet. [w] Lequien de la Neufville.

(F) This prince was very remarkable in his person, being in stature much above the ordinary size of men, which appeared not only from his pictures, but from the view of his body when, at the command of king Sebastian, his tomb was opened: his countenance was open and pleasant; his eyes small, but sparkling; his hair black: his complexion ruddy: he was very adroit in all the exercises becoming a prince; very gallant in his person, and formed to attract the

He was extremely active and vigilant in points of real concern to his government; and perceiving that it was no longer practicable to extend his dominions, very prudently bent his whole care to their improvement. In some places he founded new cities, in others he repaired old ones: he granted new privileges to a multitude of places, and was particularly solicitous for the relief of the common people. He caused many churches to be erected, and founded and endowed some convents. In his differences with the clergy he acted as he thought fit; but never without plausible reasons, had his agents constantly at the court of Rome, and amused more than one pontiff during his whole reign, with a fruitless negotiation. He received the cardinals and legates that came into Portugal with all possible respect, treated them with the utmost magnificence, and left nothing unattempted to gain their friendship; but in point of action he was more sparing, till at length, finding himself sinking under the weight of a mortal disease, he took a resolution of being reconciled to the church: having made a full submission, he received absolution from the hands of Stephen abbot of Alcobaza, and departed this life on the 16th of February, 1279, in the 31st year of his reign, and the sixty-ninth of his life [x]. He left the kingdom of Portugal complete to his successors, which had been gradually augmented by himself and his predecessors; and therefore his reign naturally puts an end to this section.

Reconciles on his death-bed to the church, pope, and clergy.

[x] Manuel Faria y Sousa, Ferreras, Histoire d'Espagne, part vi. sect. xiii. Lequien de la Neufville, le Clede.

the love and esteem of all about him. In times of peace, and when his revenue would permit, he affected magnificence; but when his affairs required it, he was extremely prudent and frugal. He loved to be called the friend of the poor, to which he had a good title, since he pawned his crown to furnish them with bread in a time of scarcity. His familiarity and interest with the people, made him respected by the nobles, and obeyed by the clergy, even against the will of several Popes. It appears, by their epistles, that his horrid and grievous oppressions of the clergy were in reality nothing more than obliging them to do justice, and to live suitable to their characters, by punishing them as well as he did the rest of his subjects, if they were deficient in either.

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SECT. III.

Containing the Reigns of Denis, Alonso IV. Pedro I. Ferdinand, and the Interregnum that followed upon his Demise, and which lasted eighteen Months.

Accession of Don Denis the Liberal or Father of his Country, and quarrel with his mother.

THE king Don Denis, surnamed the Liberal and the Father of his Country, succeeded his father in the nineteenth year of his age, and began his reign in a manner that gave great offence to the Spaniards, and which is highly commended by the Portuguese historians. It seems the queen-dowager, Donna Beatrix, thought herself entitled in that quality to take a large share in the government, which the king was by no means inclined to permit; upon which she retired in great displeasure to her father the king of Castile, who, at her request, made a journey to Badajoz, and solicited the king of Portugal to make him a visit there; but the young king, being determined not to depart from his point, and foreseeing that in this case such an interview might be attended with disagreeable consequences, he contented himself with sending the princes and princesses of the royal family to pay their respects to the monarch of Castile; but could not be prevailed on by any intreaties to make him a visit; an omission which was so ill taken by his mother, that she refused to return into Portugal, believing that she should be
A.D. 1280. less considered there than in the dominions of the king her father [y]. As for Denis, he consulted the principal nobility about his person on the important subject of his marriage: and by their advice was determined to send three of the principal lords of his court to demand Donna Isabella, the daughter of Don Pedro king of Arragon, who was very justly reputed the most amiable princess in Spain, as well for her virtue and prudence as for her exquisite beauty; which negotiation was speedily accomplished, to the great joy and satisfaction of both kingdoms, though the marriage was not celebrated till two years after [z]. The infant Don Sancho of Castile, having about this time formed a resolution of assuming very unjustly the administration during the life of his father, de-

[y] Manuel de Faria y Sousa, Cronica del Rey Don Alonso el Sabio, Lequien de la Neufville, le Clede. [z] E. Nunez, Zurita Annal. Arragon. Brandan.

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manded the friendship of the kings of Arragon and Portugal, which, from motives of policy, they granted him, though not long after they had just reasons to repent of this alliance [a]. It was, however, in some measure owing to it that the new queen Donna Isabella, passing through Castile, in her way to Troncoso, where the marriage was to be solemnized, was received by queen Violante and part of the royal family, by whom she was treated with all possible marks of affection and respect. On her arrival on the frontiers of Portugal, she was received by some of the principal nobility, who conducted her to Troncoso, where the marriage was celebrated with all the splendor suitable to such a ceremony, and to the disposition of the king, who was the most magnificent prince of that age. A.D. 1323.

New disputes with the clergy, which are at length compromised by the court of Rome.

The joy and satisfaction which diffused itself through the kingdom of Portugal upon this occasion, were quickly interrupted by the revival of the old disputes with the clergy, which very soon ran as high as ever: for the king, being very intent on correcting those disorders which the last interdict had brought into the kingdom, and in which the ecclesiastics had as great a share as the rest of his subjects, the prelates interposed, and the archbishop of Braga particularly insisted upon the king's giving the bishops satisfaction in several points; and, upon his refusal, had recourse to the old remedy, which the clergy had ever at their fingers ends, an interdict [b]. The king bore this insult with great temper and patience, representing to the clergy, that the punishment was not only great, but of a nature perfectly different from the offence, since he neither favoured heresy nor heretics, and never intermeddled with ecclesiastical affairs, or offered any insult to the church, or its members. He then desired they would specify what their demands were; and having regulated every thing as well as he could, their agreement was sent to Rome, to have the sanction of the pope's approbation. Martin the Fourth, one of the most haughty pontiffs ever seated in the chair of St. Peter, moderated some of the demands of the clergy, and approved the king's concessions [c]. The five points of which the clergy complained most, were these, that the king insisted that his hereditary estates were free from tythe; that he would not suffer the

[a] Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet, Mariana. [b] Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville, Rainald, Mayerne, Turquet, Brandan, Ferreras, Mariana.

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A.D. 1284. clergy to purchase land estates; that he insisted upon a fourth part of the price when they did; that he would not permit them to carry money out of the kingdom when and in what proportions they pleased; and that when lands were left to the church, he insisted they were still liable to the taxes with which they were formerly charged.

His brother Don Alonso raises an insurrection, and advances a claim to the throne.

The king found himself at the same time in danger of a rupture with Don Sancho the Brave, now become king of Castile, Don Nunez de Lara, his subject, having taken refuge in Portugal. However Don Denis believing they should understand one another better in a conference, proposed an interview to Don Sancho, which was readily accepted. There the two kings agreed, that it was highly expedient for both, that the king of Portugal should take into his own hands those places on the frontiers which his father had given to the infant Don Alonso, and this measure produced a quarrel between the two brothers. Don Alonso not only took up arms in his own defence, but insinuated also, that he had a better title to the crown, because Don Denis was born during the life-time of the countess of Bologne, and himself after her decease. The

A.D. 1287. king coming with an army before Portalegro, where the infant Don Alonso was, with what strength he could raise, this last quickly found his affairs in so untoward a condition, that he was very well content to listen to any propositions the king would make. Upon his assurance, that he meant him no injustice, and that he was willing to give him a settled revenue of forty thousand pounds, he resigned the towns of Ourem and Cintra, which were the principal places in question [d]. The war that followed between the crowns of Castile and Arragon, occasioned another interview between Don Denis and Don Sancho, at Sabugal, where they parted good friends [e]. By this time the clergy were become restless again: upon which the king applied first to the pope, now Nicholas the Fourth, who heard the Portuguese prelates in person, and the king by his proctors; and decided, that if the king swore to maintain his agreement, the clergy should abide by it: accordingly an assembly of the states was called for this purpose, in which the king swore with all the solem-

A.D. 1289. nity the pope had prescribed, and the clergy were constrained to be quiet for this time [f]. But they still retained

[d] Brandan, Ferreras, Lequien de la Neufville, le Clede. [e] Cronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet. [f] Rainald.

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a grudge against the ministers, on account of the advice given by them in these affairs.

Wise provisions made by the king for the safety and improvement of his dominions.

As there were few princes so learned in this age, so it may be truly asserted, there was none more a friend to learning, or learned men, than the king of Portugal, who erected an university at Lisbon, and ordered schools and other seminaries of learning to be set up in all the great towns throughout his dominions. This conduct gained him the affection of the better part of the clergy, notwithstanding he adhered steadily to his own maxims. By the advice of his brother Don Alonso, who was now thoroughly reconciled to him, he procured a law to be enacted by the states, which forbid, under very severe penalties, the selling of any land to ecclesiastical communities, whether regulars or seculars; and upon these wise principles, that the church was but a trustee for the poor, and that therefore, in accumulating wealth, she laid up what was not her own; that it was an injury to suffer this money to be vested in land, for the maintenance of indolent and lazy people; and that it tended strongly to weaken and impoverish the nation, to suffer those to purchase any thing who could part with nothing, and who, in process of time, must of necessity acquire all. Some things he had done in the beginning of his reign he now thought it necessary to cancel and rescind, such as grants without proper motives, and a kind of asylums, or cities of refuge, to which such as had committed homicides, or other crimes, might repair and reside safely; but this revocation was after they had answered the ends for which he granted these privileges, that is, when from being empty they were become inhabited, and when those who, setting the laws at defiance, had maintained themselves by rapine in rocks and mountains, had again so far entered into obedience, as to fix their residence in the frontier towns, from whence he took care they should not be able to depart, and where that humour, so dangerous elsewhere, might be useful against the infidels.

The true sources of the differences so long subsisting with the crown of Castile.

We are assured by many of the Portuguese authors, that Don Sancho the Brave made inroads into the territories of king Denis, and laid them waste with fire and sword, without any provocation; and that the monarch of Portugal, being not immediately able to resist him, sent him a challenge. But it is infinitely more probable, that these hostilities were not committed till after the death of that prince, who, if the most accurate of the Spanish historians may be depended upon, had another interview

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with king Denis, in which a double marriage was concluded between their families, and ſome other points were ſtipulated for the advantage of the king of Portugal, Don Sancho being then in a very declining ſtate, his heir apparent a child, and his concerns in great confuſion. It was to enforce theſe terms, and to recover the fortreſſes on the ſide of Caſtile, which his mother, Donna Beatrix, had all along held, that Denis began to arm immediately after Sancho's death, chiefly by the perſuaſion of his brother Don Alonſo, who had for many years been carrying on intrigues with the malecontent lords, and, in conjunction with them, was now very deſirous of drawing ſome advantage from the weakneſs inſeparable from a minority under the direction of female counſels. At leaſt this is the moſt probable account of this rupture, which did not continue long, though poſſibly there might be ſome acts of violence committed on both ſides; for the queen-regent of Caſtile, perceiving plainly of what conſequence the friendſhip of the king of Portugal might be, and the infant Don Henry, to whom ſhe gave a ſhare of the adminiſtration, preſſing her to a ſpeedy accommodation, it was agreed, that a negociation ſhould be ſet on foot, and, in order to bring it the ſooner to a concluſion, the management of it was left in the hands of the infant Don Henry, who, as the Portugueſe writers aſſert, managed this treaty with great ſkill and dexterity [g].

Compromiſed at laſt by a double marriage.

The iſſue of all theſe conferences was an interview between Don Denis and the queen-dowager of Caſtile, in which the former contracts were renewed, and the places which the king of Portugal thought neceſſary for his ſafety were abandoned to them [h]. This pacification laſted not long; for the troubles in Caſtile augmenting, and there being no leſs than two competitors ſet up againſt Don Ferdinand, viz. Don Alonſo de la Cerda, who had claimed againſt his father, and the infant Don Juan, brother to the deceaſed Don Sancho, Don Denis was prevailed upon, from political motives, to put himſelf again in arms, in order, by the aſſiſtance of the kings of Arragon and Granada, to eſtabliſh La Cerda on the throne of Caſtile, and the infant Don Juan in the kingdom of Leon. Yet after ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which there was but too much blood

[g] Cronica del Rey Don Sancho el Bravo, Faria y Souſa, La Neufville, Le Clede, Ferreras, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.
[h] Ferreras, Hiſt. de Hiſpana, par. vi. ſect. xiii.

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ſhed on both ſides, a new negociation was ſet on foot, which produced another interview with the queen-dowager of Caſtile, when, through the interpoſition of the queen of Portugal, who was ſincerely deſirous of peace, things were brought ſomewhat nearer a concluſion than they had been before, by an exchange of the two princeſſes, Donna Conſtantia being left in Caſtile, where, as ſoon as ſhe was of a proper age, ſhe was to marry the king; and Donna Beatrix, that monarch's ſiſter, who was to eſpouſe Don Alonſo, prince of Portugal, returned with them into their own dominions [i]. In ſome ſhort time after this tranſaction the king's brother, Don Alonſo, preſſed him to legitimate his children; not that they were baſtards, but that the princeſs his wife was ſo nearly allied to him, that he had juſt reaſon to apprehend the validity of their marriage might be ſome time or other queſtioned. The king, who was naturally tender and humane, complied with this requeſt; but refuſing not long after to unravel, at his brother's ſolicitation, all that had been concluded with the king of Caſtile and his brother, Don Alonſo revived his old diſcontents, and at length broke out into open rebellion. However, the king had ſo great ſucceſs in this diſpute, that his brother found himſelf blocked up in the city of Portalegro, and in great danger of being reduced to extremities, if his mother, the queen Donna Beatrix, A.D. 1300. and his ſiſter-in-law the queen of Portugal, had not interpoſed in his behalf, and induced the king to grant him more honourable and advantageous terms than he had any reaſon to expect [k]. This flame being extinguiſhed, king Denis reſolved to proceed with all imaginable diligence to the celebration of thoſe marriages upon which the peace of Spain and his own dominions ſo much depended, and, in conſideration of which, a ceſſion had been made him by the late treaty of a very conſiderable diſtrict in Galicia.

Advantages accruing to the crown of Caſtile by this cloſe alliance with Portugal.

In conſequence of the joint application of the courts of Caſtile and Portugal at Rome, the neceſſary diſpenſations were obtained; but, notwithſtanding this, the new troubles that broke out in Caſtile occaſioned a delay of the marriage; which, however, was at length ſolemnized at Valladolid, with all the ſolemnity the diſtracted ſtate of affairs in that kingdom would permit. It was not long after that Don Ferdinand deſired an interview with his father-in-law at Badajoz, to which he conſented, and it

[i] Brandan, La Neufville, Le Clede. [k] Brandan, Faria y Souſa, Mayerne, Turquet.

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was managed with great friendſhip and tenderneſs on both ſides[1]. But the king of Caſtile being very young, and at variance with his mother, to whoſe care and prudence he owed the preſervation of his life, his crown, and dominions, he was prevailed upon by thoſe about him frequently to vary his deſigns, and ſometimes to purſue ſuch as were not very conſiſtent either with his intereſt or his duty; and becauſe the king of Portugal did not ſupply him with ſuch ſums of money as he deſired, ſome of the Spaniſh writers have treated his memory rudely; and, on the other hand, the Portugueſe hiſtorians have magnified exceedingly the obligations conferred upon him by his father-in-law. It is, however, on all hands agreed, that the king Don Denis aſſiſted him in his wars againſt the Moors, made a new tour at his requeſt into Caſtile, and after having ſpent ſome days with the king and his mother, went with them to Agreda, where they met the king of Arragon, and where, by the interpoſition and mediation of Don Denis, all points in diſpute between thoſe two monarchs were amicably determined, and a compenſation ſettled, which was to be given to the family of la Cerda. In the courſe of twenty years tranſactions, embarraſſed with difficulties and confuſions of all kinds, Don Denis might do many things rather excuſable in a politician than commendable in a prince; yet, upon the whole, and taking in the difficulties to which he was expoſed by the continual perplexities of his brother, and the preſſing ſuggeſtions of the king of Arragon, he had much leſs regard to his own intereſts, and was infinitely more careful of the affairs of his ſon-in-law than is uſual amongſt princes. If it be true, which the Spaniſh writers aſſert, that in moſt of theſe points he was influenced by his queen, yet this will not acquit them of any part of the obligation, ſince the great authority that princeſs gained over him was chiefly owing to the high opinion he entertained of her wiſdom and prudence, and not at all from a weak or uxorious diſpoſition, which might have led him to a blind compliance with whatever ſhe deſired.

A new miſunderſtanding between the two crowns.

It was indeed in a great meaſure owing to the prudence of this great princeſs, and the great reſpect paid her, that the kings of Caſtile, Arragon, and Portugal, lived for ſo many years in ſo good intelligence; and that when Don Ferdinand at length complained, that his guardians had been over-reached in his nonage in thoſe ceſſions that were

[1] Cronica del Rey Don Fernand, Mariana, Monarchia Luſitana,

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made to the crown of Portugal, and threatened to recover them by arms, Don Denis was induced to leave the matter in dispute wholly to the decision of the king of Arragon, to whom both kings sent ambassadors, and who was on the point of pronouncing sentence when the king of Castile died [m]. This event entirely changed the face of affairs; Denis entered warmly into the interests of that crown, and neglected nothing that might support his grandson upon the throne, or the queen his daughter, in the regency. He was the more able to exert himself in this manner, as every thing was entirely quiet in his own dominions: the death of his brother, the infant Don Alonso, having freed him from continual inquietudes; for which, however, he was very far from making the children of his brother responsible, treating them on the contrary with the same kindness and courtesy as if the deceased infant had been the best subject in his dominions. The repose of princes, however, is seldom of long continuance. The death of his daughter, the queen of Castile, which threw the regency of that kingdom again into the hands of the old queen-dowager, was the first source of his chagrin, and it was quickly followed by a new and greater misfortune [n].

The infant Don Alonso begins to discover an inclination to rebel.

The prince Don Alonso, under various pretences, made several tours to the court of Castile, and the queen-dowager, burning with impatience to see her daughter Beatrix a queen, accustomed him to censures and invectives, which gradually impaired that reverence due from him to the king his father, whose sentiments and whose actions he began to criticise. In a little time he found himself at the head of a strong party. At first Don Denis endeavoured to reclaim him by good advice, by shewing him the folly of such a proceeding, and by assuring him, that when he came to the throne, he would find those persons who were now his favourites less fit to be trusted than any of his subjects. But these salutary representations, instead of producing any good effects, only inspired the prince with stronger inclinations to increase his party, and to render himself formidable, by becoming the head of all the malecontents in the kingdom [o]. Don De-

[m] Zurita Annal. Arragon. Brandan. Chronica del Rey Don Fernand. Mayerne, Turquet, Lequien de la Neufville, Histoire Generale de Portugal, Mariana, Le Clede, Ferreras, Histoire d'Espagne, par. vii. sect. xiv. [n] Faria y Sousa, Brandan, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet, La Neufville. [o] Monarch. Lusitan. Zurita Annal. Arragon, Rainald.

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nis dissembled his resentment, and persisted in pursuing the wise designs he had formed for the benefit of his subjects. He regulated the proportion and manner of levying taxes on the Moors settled in his dominions, in such a way, as proved equally satisfactory to them and to his successors. He treated the knights Templars, persecuted by the pope and all the princes of Europe, with equity and clemency; he improved one military order, and instituted another under those regulations[p]; which have for the most part continued ever since, and which rendered both of them dependent upon the crown, and useful to the state.

A.D. 1317.

Wise precautions of the king to hinder the effects of his son's practices.

The king, who saw with infinite concern the disturbances that continued in Castile, and apprehended the Moors would take advantage of them, as well as of those in his own dominions, thought it prudent to have a good fleet at sea, to prevent their drawing over reinforcements from Africa. To defray the expence of this armament, he sent ambassadors to the pope, then at Avignon, to desire his permission to levy a tax upon the clergy; to procure his approbation of the new order of knighthood; and his interposition with his son, to prevent the kingdom from being plunged in a civil war. His ambassadors, besides the instructions they carried on all these heads, were likewise entrusted with a very considerable present in ready gold, which, as the pope's finances were in much disorder, was very kindly accepted, and procured them a speedy dismission, with all that they could desire[q]. On the other hand, the prince Don Alonso had again recourse to the queen-dowager of Castile, who was his oracle, and, as the Portuguese authors[r] assert, prompted him to that conduct he pursued. He went thither with the princess his consort; the queen-dowager went to meet them, and had a long conference with them, soon after which the troubles in Portugal began.

A civil war breaks out, in which the king is victorious over prince Alonso.

The prince Don Alonso committed his first hostilities in paper. He published a strong manifesto against his father, in which he charged him with applying to the pope to legitimate his natural son Alonso Sanchez, with an intent to render him his successor. In answer to this assertion, the king declared it never entered into his thoughts; the pope asserted in the most solemn manner that no such application had ever been made to him, and appeared extremely incensed at the report[s]. The prince then varied

[p] Lequien de la Neufville, tom. i. p. 177. [q] Rainald, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras, Mariana. [r] La Neufville. [s] Rainald.

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his ſtory, and charged his natural brother with an attempt to poiſon him, and affirmed he had in his hands the moſt convincing proofs of his deſign[t]. The king found means to come at theſe proofs, and publiſhed to the world when and where they were forged by the prince's orders. Alonſo then employed ſome of thoſe deſperate perſons who were about him to aſſaſſinate Don Alonſo Sanchez; he failed in this attempt too, and then broke out into open rebellion, prevailing upon the governor of Leyria to ſurrender to him that important place. The king preſently marched that way with a body of troops; upon which the inhabitants took up arms, and compelled the garriſon to open the gates, aſſuring the king that they had no ſhare in the governor's treaſons. Don Denis acted with more ſeverity than he had ever ſhewn upon any other occaſion; he put the governor and part of his garriſon to death, and left the town to the cuſtody of the people[u]. While he was thus employed the prince took Santaren, which, however, the king quickly recovered. The prince then amuſed him with a treaty, and attempted to ſurpriſe Liſbon, which ſcheme, by a quick march, his father diſappointed; he afterwards came up with him near Cintra, defeated his forces, and might have made him priſoner, but the king forbid his troops either to take or hurt him[w].

Queen Iſabella brings about an accommodation.

This clemency was ſo far from having any effect on the prince, that when he was in a condition to take the field again, he kept no kind of meaſures, but burnt and deſtroyed without mercy the country through which he paſſed. What puts his behaviour out of diſpute, and is ſufficient to ſtamp a brand of infamy upon his memory, is the caſe of Girard, biſhop of Evora. This prelate acquainted him, that if he continued to act in this manner, and did not return to his obedience, the pope had given him full powers to proceed againſt him by ſpiritual cenſures; but that he was ſtill deſirous of reſpecting in him the blood of his prince; for which admonition the prelate was barbarouſly put to death. James, king of Arragon, ſent his brother Don Sancho to compromiſe theſe matters, but he had no better ſucceſs than the reſt of the mediators; on the contrary, the prince's army having become very numerous, he was perſuaded to lay ſiege to Guimaraez: there his brother, the infant Don Pedro, came to him,

[t] Le Clede, Brandan, Mayerne Turquet. [u] Rainald, Brandan, Ferreras, par. vii, ſect. xiv. [w] Faria y Souſa, La Neufville.

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but authors are not very clear whether it was to give him good advice, or to join with him in his evil practices. However, the place being ſtrong, made a vigorous defence; and the king having now loſt all patience, marched with a very complete army towards Coimbra, now in the prince's hands. This motion, as he expected, brought the prince to its relief, and conſequently to hazard a battle; but the good queen Iſabella interpoſed, and, after paſſing ſeveral times between both armies, procured at length a ceſſation of arms. The king went then to Leyria, to which place the prince followed him of his own accord, threw himſelf at his feet, and deſired his forgiveneſs, of which his father gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances *. He removed from thence to Liſbon, where he fell dangerouſly ill, made his teſtament, by which he founded an univerſity at Coimbra, and gave very large ſums to the poor. He was no ſooner recovered than he had the diſſatisfaction of perceiving that his ſon was relapſed. He diſcovered his bad intentions by preſenting a memorial, in which he demanded many things beyond what his father had promiſed. The king received this memorial without heat, and laid it before his council, who unanimouſly adviſed the king to reject it. The prince, who was prompted to this meaſure by ſome about him, immediately drew his forces together, and attempted to ſeize Liſbon, upon which the king alſo aſſembled forces; but before he marched againſt his ſon he ſent a gentleman of his bed-chamber, whoſe name was Azevedo, to tell him, that he acted as much againſt his intereſt as his duty; that he was teaching thoſe rebellion whom he was ſhortly to govern; that he was ruining a kingdom which would be his own; and that as his health was daily declining, if the prince conſulted his credit, he would at leaſt ſuffer him to die in peace. Alonſo was little moved with this remonſtrance; and only anſwered, that his father uſed him harſhly, and meant to uſe him worſe. Azevedo replied, that the king had no ſuch intentions, and that he was abuſed by ſuch as told him theſe ſtories. The prince bid him be gone if he had a mind to preſerve his head. "I do not value my head, ſir (returned Azevedo), in the king's ſervice; the only pain I ſhall feel in loſing it, is perceiving that he has begot a ſon capable of ſuch an act." After all, the queen reconciled them a ſecond time, and the prince went again to kiſs his father's hand, who re-

* Zurita Annal. Arragon, Rainald, Brandan.

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ceived him with much affection, assured him of his forgiveness, and suggested to him a great deal of good advice [x]. The prince behaved on his side with all exterior marks of submission, and sorrow for what had passed.

This reconciliation did not last so long as the former; for as the prince did not care to live with his father, he was continually surrounded with flatterers, who poisoned his mind with jealousies and suspicions; for he was not either disobedient or obstinate of himself, but rather of a contrary disposition. The point upon which they chiefly insisted was the kindness shewn by Don Denis to his natural son Alonso Sanchez, to whom he had given the first employment in the kingdom, and who acted as prime minister. They persuaded the prince to demand of his father that he should be divested of his employment, and removed from his person. This demand mortified Don Denis to the last degree, more especially when he saw that some of his most faithful servants advised him to yield. Alonso Sanchez cut the matter short; and to justify the king's conduct, by shewing that he respected nothing in him but merit, resigned his office freely, and retired into Castile [y]. The prince Don Alonso upon his withdrawing came to the court, and brought with him his little son Don Pedro, with whom the king was exceedingly pleased. In a very little time the prince made a strange alteration in his conduct, and gradually expelled from his presence those who had been the authors of his revolts. The king going from Leyria to Santaren, spent some time there, as being very much pleased with the country. He went from thence to Lisbon, where finding himself again indisposed, he sent immediately to the prince. After having given him a great deal of good advice, and pointed out to him the means of avoiding the bad consequences that might naturally attend his former faults, he breathed his last on the 30th of December, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and at the close of the forty-fifth year of his reign, to the universal grief of his subjects of all ranks, who not only reverenced him as their prince, but loved him as their parent [z] (A). A.D. 1324.

A third compromise, which is soon after followed by the king's death.

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[x] Lequien de la Neufville, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet. [y] Faria y Sousa, Monarch. Lusitan. Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet; Brandan, La Neufville. [z] Le Clede, Ferreras.

(A). This monarch was of a middle stature, broad shouldered, full faced, his hair black, and his eyes large. He was particularly careful of agriculture, and favoured it so much

Some remarks upon the reign of Don Denis, and on the trade of Portugal.

He was, without all doubt, one of the wiſeſt, moſt fortunate, and moſt magnificent monarchs of his time. He gave largely, but he gave with propriety; yet he did this ſo often, ſo freely, and with ſuch an apparent pleaſure, that his name became a proverb, and they ſay to this day, "As generous as king Denis." His bounty, however, was not reſtrained to gifts: he founded two univerſities, and a military order; he completed many good deſigns that his predeceſſors had left unfiniſhed; he fortified and raiſed magazines in moſt of his frontier towns, arſenals in his ports, and in other things was at a vaſt expence, and never without money; yet he did not either tax or oppreſs his ſubjects. His wealth was the wonder of his own times; for obſerving how thoroughly he performed whatever he undertook, the common people were wont to ſay, that Don Denis could do what he would. This proverb is an argument that there muſt have been a vaſt trade then in Portugal; and another proof is, that through his whole reign the king kept a great naval force at ſea, by which he awed the Moors, and protected his own coaſts and thoſe of Andaluſia.

Don Alonſo IV. ſucceeds, and is very indolent in the diſcharge of his duty.

Don Alonſo IV. ſurnamed the Brave, ſucceeded his father, and was crowned with great ſolemnity [a]. His conduct much through his whole reign, that the country people called him the Huſbandman. He had a moſt magnificent crown, and a large ſcepter, made of the gold waſhed out of the ſands of the Tayo. He underſtood all things, and he rewarded all men, provided they had merit; and this was ſuch a ſpur to induſtry, that it raiſed his revenue exceedingly, without impoſing taxes. He did not hoard money, but choſe to empty his coffers in works of utility and magnificence, ſome of which are yet remaining, and appear to have been very coſtly. He was particularly careful in keeping up a naval force; ſo that he was maſter at ſea, during his whole reign. He was very ſtrict in the adminiſtration of juſtice; and one great cauſe of his diſputes with his clergy, was his not ſuffering prieſts to violate the laws with impunity. He built a magnificent tomb for himſelf in the monaſtery of Odivellas, where he was interred. All the Portugueſe authors concur in their commendations of Don Denis, and ſtyle him the Father of Huſbandmen, and the Protector of Commerce (1).

[a] Lequien de la Neufville, Faria y Souſa, Ferreras, Hiſtoria de Hiſpana, part. vii. ſect. xiv.

(1) Vaſconcellos, Faria y Souſa, Mayerne, Turquet. Nunez, Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, Le Clede, &c. Mariana, Ferreras. Brandan de la Neufville.

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duct while he was heir apparent had not given the moſt favourable opinion of him to his ſubjects; more eſpecially to ſuch of the nobility as had been entruſted by the late king Don Denis, and who, by a long acquaintance with affairs, had acquired a very high authority, and a general influence over the whole nation. Don Alonſo did not conſider either their characters or his own in a proper point of view; but ſeemed to look on the poſſeſſion of the crown as a ſufficient title to act as he thought fit, to purſue his pleaſures without diſturbance, and to live in all reſpects above and without control But the council thought otherwiſe; and though they might eaſily have converted this temper of the new king to their own advantage, by engroſſing all power into their own hands, and barely adminiſtering the government in his name, yet they acted another and a better part, and that too with all the ſucceſs they could deſire (B). The king, who at bottom, had good ſenſe, as well as great ſpirit, entered by degrees into the knowlege and into the diſcharge of his

(B) Don Alonſo was in the vigour of his age; hunting was his favourite diverſion; ſo that he ſpent his time in the foreſts about Cintra, while all affairs of government were neglected, or which was worſe, executed under the direction of thoſe who took pains to keep their maſter in ignorance. At length, the king returned to Liſbon, and coming into his council, gave them, with great frankneſs and ſpirit, the hiſtory of a whole month's hunting, fiſhing, and ſhooting. When he had done ſpeaking, a perſon of great quality roſe up, and ſaid, "Courts and camps were deſigned for kings, and not woods and deſerts. We ſit here for other purpoſes than to hear exploits only intelligible to the ears of grooms and falconers. If your majeſty will attend to the wants, and remove the grievances of your people, you will find them obedient ſubjects; if not"—the king ſtarting with paſſion at this expreſſion, ſaid, "If not? what?"—"If not, (continued the nobleman, in the ſame tone of voice), they muſt look for another and a better king." Alonſo after having expreſſed his reſentment, in very loud and ſtrong terms, flung out of the room in the higheſt tranſport of rage. In a little time he returned quiet and compoſed. "I perceive, ſaid he, the truth of what you ſay; he cannot long have ſubjects who will not be a king. Remember, that from this day you have nothing more to do with Alonſo the ſportſman, but with Alonſo king of Portugal (1)."

(1) Nunez, Vaſconcellos, Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas, part. iii. cap. ix. Le Clede

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duty. He began by calling to account some of his old creatures and favourites, not for the bad advice they had given him, and the disturbances which they had thereby created in the kingdom, but for those crimes and offences of which they had been personally guilty, and from the just punishment of which they were in hopes of screening themselves by the royal favour [b]. He paid all possible respect to his father's memory, and promoted those who had opposed himself with the greatest vehemence; not believing they were enemies to him, but considering them as the true friends of the crown. He shewed much duty to his mother the queen-dowager, great affection for his consort queen Beatrix, and began to form designs for the firm establishment of his family, and the security of his dominions.

Declares his brother Alonso Sanchez a proscribed traitor, and is after reconciled.

But with all his good qualities, and in spite of all his good conduct, the king could not overcome in his mind the aversion he had conceived against his natural brother Alonso Sanchez; therefore in the first assembly of the states that he held, he ordered his process to be made, and affirming, that he was the sole author of all the differences that had happened between him and the deceased king his father, he directed all his great estate to be seized, and himself to be proclaimed a traitor [c]. This step was so much the more extraordinary, as he is commended for passing at this time an excellent law, by which he prohibited private persons from revenging their own injuries, and obliged them to have recourse to the law, as to an impartial judge. Alonso Sanchez wrote the king a very respectful letter, in which he assured him of his innocence, of his willingness to serve him with fidelity, and intreating him not to carry into execution the severe sentence he had passed against him. But the king persisting in his revenge, Alonso Sanchez, at the head of a considerable body of troops, entered Portugal, and did a great deal of mischief. The king sent against him the master of Avis, with a superior corps of troops, whom Alonso Sanchez engaged and routed. The king, full of resentment, took the field in person; and the governor of Codeceyra, near Albuquerque, having put that strong place, which belong-

[b] Lequein de la Neufville, E. Nunez de Leon as Cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Ant. Vasconcellos Anacephalæosis, id est, summa capita Actorum Regum Lusitaniæ, Le Clede. [c] Saint Marthe Hist. Faria y Sousa, Mayerne, Turquet.

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ed to Alonso Sanchez, into the king's hands, he burnt it to the ground, and then returned into his own terrories [d]. His mother Donna Isabella, understanding that Alonso Sanchez had written again to the king, interposed with her son, and told him plainly, that all he had imputed to Alonso Sanchez was false, that he was a very brave and a very great man; and that he had divested himself of other prejudices, so he would find it for his interest to get the better of this, and recal his brother. The king took her advice in good part, and sent Alonso Sanchez word, that if he would return, he was content to hear him; on which intimation, notwithstanding all that had happened, he came immediately to court, and the king, after a short coldness, received him into high favour: an action so royal, that it deserves to be communicated to posterity.

A war with Castile, which is at length compromised, and an alliance concluded.

At the persuasion of his consort, the king was very desirous to marry his daughter to Don Alonso the Eleventh, king of Castile and Leon, and caused some propositions on this head to be made to that prince, who, the Portuguese historians say, was already married to Donna Constantia, the daughter of Don Juan Manuel, a powerful and turbulent prince of the blood; but the best Spanish writers say, that he was only contracted to Donna Constantia, which is more probable, as that lady was too young to be married. At first the king of Castile had no great inclination to the princess of Portugal; but at length, from motives of policy, grew very desirous of the match; caused Donna Constantia, whom he should have married, to be put into prison, and made so much haste to conclude it, as not to stay for a dispensation, which was held necessary in those days [e]. Soon after this transaction, prince Peter, heir apparent of the crown of Portugal, espoused Donna Blanch, daughter to the infant Don Pedro of Castile; but she proved to have some distemper that rendered her incapable of marriage. This produced a negotiation for espousing the lady Constantia, who should have been the king of Castile's consort, to prince Peter of Portugal. Don Alonso gave his consent in words, but took every method possible to prevent it. This monarch having engaged in an amour with Donna Leonora de Guzman, treated the queen Donna Maria, though the daughter of the king of Portu-

[d] Ed. Nunez, Mariana, Lequien de la Neufville, Ferreras. Le Clede. [e] La Neufville, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

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gal, with great indignity, notwithstanding the interposition of the two queens of Portugal, who were his near relations, and for whom he possessed great deference and respect. At length, after reciprocal injuries, things ended in an open war by land and sea; and the subjects of both crowns were for twelve years exposed to all the miseries of repeated incursions with fire and sword, for the sake of those domestic jars between their princes. Don Alonso the Eleventh of Castile, finding himself in danger of being attacked by the whole force of the Moors, was obliged to have recourse to the kings of Arragon and Portugal for assistance, even before the war was concluded with the latter. Finding that monarch well disposed, he very wisely entered into a treaty, which was concluded in the month of July at Santaren, by which Donna Constantia was permitted to go into Portugal to consummate her marriage with the infant Don Pedro; and the king of Portugal promised to assist his brother of Castile with all his force, a promise which he religiously and gallantly performed. He was present in the glorious battle of Tarifa, or Celdano, fought on the 30th of October; in which the Moors were totally defeated [f].

A D. 1340.

The Moors make a descent upon Algarve, and are obliged to abandon it.

The war against the Moors continued for several years; and the king Don Alonso, in pursuance of his engagements, furnished his son-in-law with succours both by land and sea; in consideration of which, he obtained from Rome a permission to levy the tenths upon the clergy for two years [g]. The Moors, to revenge their losses, projected and executed a descent on the kingdom of Algarve; where they burnt and plundered the country, murdered the inhabitants, and having made themselves masters of Castro Marine, demanded assistance from Granada, in hopes of being able to keep possession of that country; but the king of Portugal soon awaked them from these dreams, and by coming with a superior army, recovered the place [h]. This success restored the quiet of his dominions, which in all other respects were in a very flourishing condition; the laws being strictly executed, the king very active in his administration, and not addicted either to luxury or covetousness. Yet in the midst of this calm, and when it was least expected, a new storm arose, which shook the government to its very foundations.

[f] Faria y Sousa. [g] Raynald, Mariana, Le Clede.
[h] E. Nunez, Garibay, la Neufville, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras.

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Don Pedro, prince of Portugal, had given very pregnant signs of a noble and well regulated courage; had behaved very dutifully towards his father, and was a very kind and good husband to Donna Constantia Manuel, by whom he had several children: yet it was thought he had a tenderness for Donna Agnes de Castro, the daughter of a Castilian gentleman, who had taken refuge in the court of Portugal. Some say, that the princess Donna Constantia perceived, and grew melancholy upon it; and it is even thought to have hastened her death [i]. The king Don Alonso being apprised of it, acted like a great politician; he appointed Donna Agnes, godmother to his grandson Don Ferdinand, because in the Romish church this creates a kind of religious alliance, which disables the godmother from ever marrying the father of the child. The scheme was certainly subtil, but it proved, notwithstanding, ineffectual. As yet the kindness of Don Pedro for this lady had not exceeded the bounds of decency; perhaps had not proceeded so far as any declaration, when the princess Donna Constantia died; for whom Don Pedro shewed a becoming concern, and Donna Agnes de Castro, who it is likely, knew nothing of the suspicions that were entertained concerning her, manifested an affliction equally tender and sincere, which affected the prince so strongly, that it contributed not a little to fix his inclinations for that unfortunate lady. These discovered themselves not long after, with all the transports of a violent passion; but whether this was of a criminal nature, is at least very doubtful, since Don Pedro afterwards affirmed, in the most solemn manner, that he was privately married to her; and in justice to that lady's memory, we ought to believe, that this marriage took place before she had any share in his bed [k]. It was, however, kept very secret; and out of respect to his father, and from other motives of policy, he suffered his commerce with her to pass for that kind of gallantry which was held excusable in a person of his rank, who was become a widower in the flower of his age.

Unfortunate amour of Don Pedro, prince of Portugal, with Donna Agnes de Castro.

A D. 1344.

Upon the accession of Don Pedro the Cruel to the throne of Castile, many of the nobility of that kingdom, and some even of the first distinction, thought proper to retire into the dominions of the crown of Portugal, where they were kindly received by the prince Don Pedro, and generously entertained and protected by Donna Agnes and

Represented in a very strong light to the king Don Alonso by his favourites.

[i] Mayerne, Turquet. [k] E. Nunez, La Neufville, Le Clede.

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her brethren [l], whose conduct in this respect was generally applauded in public, and in private as generally condemned. The common crowd of courtiers whispered, that all passages to favour and preferment were blocked up by the mistress's relations or countrymen, who obtained whatever they asked, while those who had a natural right to what they obtained, were deluded in their hopes, and disappointed in their expectations. The courtiers hated the Castilians, merely because they were so, hated those who provided for them, and hated those for whose sake this provision was made: thus the fewel was prepared and placed before fire was set to the machine. Those who managed the contrivance, insinuated to the king, and perhaps to the queen, that it would be for the honour of the crown, and perhaps for the interest of the nation, if Don Pedro could be prevailed upon to marry again; that his distaste to this proposition arose entirely from his attachment for Donna Agnes, and his tenderness for his children by her; and that this intrigue, though at present it only vexed the royal family, might in the end prove fatal to the state [m].

Propose to remove Donna Agnes out of the world by violence.

At last, the malice of those who envied the fortune of the family of Castro, induced them to suggest to the king, that his son was married to Donna Agnes, and that this match was very much beneath him; and they named Giles, bishop of Guarda, as the prelate by whom it was solemnized: that the king spoke of this affair to Don Pedro, and that he did not own the marriage, seems to be certain; in which the conduct of the prince deserves blame, more especially if it be true, as some have written, that the king also told him, that if he would avow the marriage, he would cause her to be treated as princess of Portugal. In the end, when the king's uneasiness and dissatisfaction plainly appeared, these people hinted the danger of his grandson Don Ferdinand, from the ambition of Don Ferdinand and Don Alvaro de Castro: and when the king demanded what remedy could be applied to this evil, they wickedly suggested the putting lady Agnes to death, as an expedient actually requisite to the safety of the royal family. The king hesitating, the thing took air, and coming to the ears of the queen and the archbishop of Braga, they, from a generous and Christian spirit, gave

[l] Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, de Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne, Turquet.

[m] Ed. Nunez, Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede.

notice

notice of it to the prince; who, believing his father incapable of such an action, looked upon it as a new artifice to engage his consent to a marriage: but those who had the ear of the king, and knew how capable he was of resolving, even of matters of the greatest importance, on the sudden, and executing these resolutions without advice, took their opportunity, and carried him to Coimbra, when the prince was absent from thence [n] on a hunting match.

The king at length consents, and gives his orders for the murther of the princess.

The unfortunate Donna Agnes was then at the monastery of Santa Clara; and the manner of the king's coming, joined, it may be, to some previous information, rendered his purpose so apparent, that the innocent victim went out to meet him, and, with her children, threw herself and them at his feet; with which spectacle the king was so much moved, that he desisted from his design; but his three counsellors, Alvaro Gonsalez, Diego Lopez Pacheco, and Pedro Coello, reproaching him with his want of spirit, and his having more tenderness for a woman than for his subjects and the state, he resumed his former resolution, and gave them commission to go and execute what he first intended. The cruel deed was performed with great brutality; and they returned to the king with their daggers reeking with the blood of the princess his daughter-in-law [o]. He was so strangely misled, as to avow and approve this horrid action; and having ordered her corps to be interred in the monastery of Santa Clara, he left Coimbra as if he had done nothing there for which he ought to be ashamed [p]: but when the prince was informed of this cruel event, he suffered himself to be transported into such fury, that he wasted all the country between the rivers Minho and Douro with fire and sword. He would have carried things to greater extremities, if the queen and the archbishop of Braga had not interposed, and represented to him, in the strongest terms, the absurd barbarity of resenting the injury done him by the king upon his subjects, who were one day to become his own. As he easily comprehended the sanity of this remonstrance, and had naturally the greatest love for justice, he readily complied with their request, and accepted such terms as they proposed; and thus a civil war, that might have been of the most dangerous consequence, was hardly felt before it was composed [q].

A D. 1355.

[n] Faria y Sousa. [o] E. Nunez, Ant. Vasconcellos, Le Clede. [p] La Neufville, Ferreras, Mayerne, Turquet. [q] Faria y Sousa.

Don Pedro takes up arms, and begins a civil war against his father.

The king Don Alonso, who had this peculiarity in his temper, that he quickly saw his errors, and was very earnest to repair them, not only accepted his son's submission, and received him again into favour, but studied every method to oblige him; and to bring him so far to forget the deplorable fate of his princess, as not to aim at revenging it; and some say, that he took an oath at his father's request to this purpose. It is more certain, that, contrary to the natural plainness and candor of his disposition, the prince dissembled with his father, and with the world, in such a manner, that he was thought to have suffered time not only to dry his tears, but to heal his heart; and what seemed to put this opinion past all doubt, was his entering into a new amour with a Galician lady, and the readiness he shewed to embrace the proposition made by Henry, count of Trastemara; who advised him, in his mother's right, to set up a title to the crown of Castile, against Don Pedro, who was already considered as a tyrant: but the king Don Alonso interposed, out of compassion to his own subjects, whom he would not suffer to be embarked in a quarrel he thought unjust.

Death of Don Alonso, and a succinct view of his administration.

Don Alonso, now advanced in years, and grown very infirm, began to think of disposing all things for his quiet passing out of this world; and therefore did various acts of charity, piety, and bounty, enquired into, and redressed grievances throughout his dominions, established just laws for repressing immorality and avarice, dictating what he thought to be the proper maxims for ruling the state, and labouring all in his power to efface from the memory of Don Pedro the injury and insult he had received: but, however, fearing, or, perhaps, foreseeing that this would prove a task impracticable, he had recourse to what remained still in his own power, the providing for, and putting out of his reach such as were most likely to become the objects of his resentment. He gave, therefore, considerable sums of money to Alvaro Gonsalez, Diego Lopez Pacheco, and Pedro Coello, enjoining them to retire into Castile, and endeavour in a foreign country to enjoy that ease and safety which their own impetuous counsels had rendered it improbable would ever be their lot in their own[r]. These measures being taken, he departed this life in the month of May, 1357, in the thirty-second

[r] Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, de Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Ferreras, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet.

year

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year of his reign, and the sixty-seventh year of his age[s]. It was said, and with great truth, that he was an undutiful son, an unnatural brother, and a cruel father. These harsh epithets expressed all that was hateful in his conduct. In other respects, he was a great man, and a great king. He was very brave, and very fortunate in war. All Spain stood indebted to him for the generosity with which he assisted Alonso XI. king of Castile, burying his private resentments in the noble desire of distinguishing his own and his subjects courage at the expence of the common enemy. He was a politician, indeed too much of a politician; for all his misfortunes arose from that false and fatal maxim, that good can ever be attained by illicit means. He loved his children, and his subjects as if they had been his children. He was strict in the administration of justice, and would suffer no rank of men to plead the unrighteous privilege of being exempt from, or superior to law. He was so tender of property, and so attentive to public welfare, that industry flourished under his reign, and his people were rich, and at their ease, while their monarch's coffers were full; and yet he drew nothing from them beyond the ordinary and accustomed revenue. After all, he was rather reverenced for a right use of power, than relied on as a public parent; and though much esteemed, was not very much beloved. He gave for his device an eagle on the wing, with these words, Altiora Peto, i. e. "My hopes fly high[t]."

Accession of Don Pedro, and his care to negociate an alliance with Castile.

Don Pedro ascended the throne in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and by some historians is surnamed the Cruel, by others the Justiciary, or Lover of Justice, either from an apprehension that this was more suitable to his real character, or to distinguish him the better from the other Pedros; since at this time Don Pedro the Cruel occupied the crown of Castile, and Don Pedro IV. possessed that of Arragon. The first care of the new monarch was to send Arias Gomez de Sylva and Gonçalo Yanez de Beja to the court of Castile to renew the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and to inform the king of his sincere desire to live with him in the strictest friendship possible. This advance produced an embassy the next year from Castile, when, besides ratifying the ancient alliances, a new family-convention was concluded, by which it was agreed, that Ferdinand, prince of Portugal, should

[s] E. Nunez, Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville. [t] Lequien de la Neufville Histoire Generale de Portugal. tom. i. p. 214.

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marry Donna Beatrix; and that the infantas Conſtantia and Iſabella, all three daughters of Donna Maria de Padilla, ſhould eſpouſe the princes Juan and Denis, ſons of Donna Agnes de Caſtro. The king farther entered into a league with Don Pedro of Caſtile, againſt the king of Arragon; and it was ſtipulated by an expreſs article, that both parties ſhould reciprocally deliver up ſuch malcontents as ſhould fly to them from each other's dominions [u].

Puts the murderers of Donna Agnes de Caſtro to death.

The true aim of this treaty ſoon appeared; for the king of Portugal having in the firſt aſſembly of the ſtates held after his acceſſion, cauſed the three murderers of his beloved Agnes de Caſtro to be attainted, and their eſtates confiſcated, Don Pedro of Caſtile ſuggeſted to him, that if he would ſeize ſome perſons, his ſubjects, who had retired into his dominions, he would deliver up thoſe who had imbrued their hands in the blood of his princeſs. The Portugueſe monarch accepted the propoſal, and having cauſed Men Rodriguez Tenorio, Hernando Gudiel de Toledo, and Fortuno Sanchez Calderon, to be ſeized, he ſent them to Seville. Don Pedro Nunez de Guzman would have met with the ſame treatment; but he fled to Albuquerque, to Sancho Ruiz de Villegas, upon whoſe friendſhip he depended; but he either ſold or ſacrificed him to the king, by whom he was put to a cruel death. On the other hand, Pedro Coella and Alvaro Nunez, were ſeized in the like manner in Caſtile, and ſent to the king of Portugal; but Diego Pacheco, who happened to be hunting, having timely intelligence given him by a beggar of what had happened, made his eſcape into Arragon. Don Pedro, having the ſentence of the law on his ſide, and the criminals in his hands, gave a looſe to his reſentment; and, with an impetuoſity excuſable in a lover, but no way becoming a king, not only cauſed them to be put to death with exquiſite tortures, but was preſent at this ſhocking ſcene, and inſulted them in their laſt moments; in which they behaved with great ſpirit, and returned the ſame language they received. This terrible execution was performed at Santaren [v]. Don Vaſco Fer-

A.D. 1360.

[u] Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, de Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Faria y Souſa, le Clede, Mayerne, Turquet, Mariana.

[v] Faria y Souſa, E. Nuñez de Leon as Cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Cronica del Rey Don Pedro, de Pedro Lopez de Ayala, Ant. Vaſconcellos Anacephalæoſis, id eſt, Summa Capita Actorum Regum Lusitaniæ, Lequien de la Neufville Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal, tom. i p. 218.

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nandez, archbishop of Toledo, being ordered to retire into Portugal by Don Pedro of Castile, who seized his estate and effects, that prelate was received with the utmost respect, and had a retreat given him at Coimbra, where he spent the remainder of his days in acts of piety and devotion.

Causes her corps to be removed from Coimbra to Alcobaça, with vast pomp.

The king Don Pedro's affections for Donna Agnes continued as strong as ever, and his grief for her death was not assuaged by the torments exercised on the authors of it. He summoned therefore at Cantanades an assembly of the states, where, in the presence of the pope's nuncio, he swore upon the gospels, that having privately obtained a dispensation at Rome, he had secretly espoused at Bragança Donna Agnes de Castro, in the presence of the bishop of Guarda, and of his master of the wardrobe, both of whom testified their knowledge of the truth of what the king had sworn [x]. Having first published the pope's bull, containing the dispensation, he ordered the body of the deceased lady to be removed from Coimbra to the royal monastery of Alcobaça, with a pomp unknown in Portugal, and there to be interred under a white marble monument, with all the funeral honours due to a queen. This step with the legitimation of her children, and the care he took of all who had been in her service, consoled him in some degree, and rendered him more conversable than hitherto he had been. He had sent his ambassadors into Arragon, in order to reconcile the king Don Pedro to the monarch of Castile; but the first-mentioned prince declined his mediation, and sent ambassadors to his court, to represent the unkindness of his late treaty with Castile. He offered to treat of a marriage between the infanta Donna Joanna and prince Ferdinand of Portugal; a proposal, which the circumstances of affairs being much altered, was not wholly rejected [y].

A.D.1364.

Don Pedro resolves to make a thorough reformation throughout his kingdom.

The great object that Don Pedro had in view was the absolute reformation of every thing that was amiss throughout his whole dominions: a resolution singular in itself, and prosecuted with great steadiness. He began with himself; and that he might the more thoroughly understand his duty, he went frequently to the monastery of Alcobaça, where he contemplated the tomb in which he was to lie, and the account he was one day to give of his

[x] E. Nunez de Leon as Cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Ferreras, Mariana. [y] Zurita Annal Arragon. Faria y Sousa, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Mayerne, Turquet.

conduct,

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conduct. He was very easy of access, and examined every thing to the bottom. In general his court was very frugal and modest; but upon particular occasions very splendid and magnificent. In those cases the common people and the poor had their share; for he held, that those who worked and fared hardest, had the most need of refreshment. He made short tours into the provinces, that he might hear with his own ears, and see with his own eyes. On such occasions he carried a sceptre and a whip, to signify that he meant to reward and to chastise. He was alike vehement in both: he bestowed freely and frequently; but his enquiries were very strict, and his punishments severe. He suspended for a certain time all taxes; and when it was represented that his treasure would be soon exhausted, he said, that a king who gave wisely, and only to those who deserved it, might be liberal at no great expence. He had no respect of persons; but administered justice as he expected to see it administered, when the secrets of all hearts were laid open. The memoirs nearest his own times speak of him with admiration, and are very far from loading him with those indecent epithets, that would have been attached to the name of any other prince, who had proceeded with the same severity. But he so far attained his end, so qualified the strictness of his justice by his affability and kindness to all the world, and brought the bulk of his subjects to have such a relish for that regularity which he so much affected, that, by degrees, the people were as much altered as the prince; and almost universally admired those qualities in their king, that in any other country would have procured him the appellation of a tyrant (C).

While

(C) In this note we propose to give a few of the many extraordinary marks of justice for which this monarch was famous, and these as features of his character, and to support the account we have given of his reign. An ecclesiastic, in a high fit of passion, killed a mason whom he had employed, for not executing something agreeable to his mind. The king dissembled his knowledge of the crime, and left it to the cognizance of the proper courts, where the issue of the business was, that the priest was suspended from saying mass for a year. At this slight punishment the family of the deceased were highly offended. The king caused it to be hinted to the mason's son, that he should kill the priest; a hint which he took, and falling into the hands of justice, was condemned to suffer death; but as no capital sentence could be

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His conduct towards Don Pedro of Caſtile, and his death.

While Don Pedro of Portugal was acquiring, Don Pedro of Caſtile was loſing the character of a good prince, and became at laſt ſo generally hated, that upon his brother the count of Traſtemara's aſſuming the title of king, he was abandoned by the beſt part of his ſubjects. A little before this cruel reverſe of fortune happened, he had ſent his eldeſt daughter, the infanta Donna Beatrix, with an immenſe ſum in ready money into Portugal, where, purſuant to the treaty between the two crowns, ſhe was to marry the prince Don Ferdinand. Not long after he himſelf took the ſame route with a ſmall body of troops which remained faithful to him, not doubting of a good reception, and of a powerful ſupport; but the king of Portugal was no ſooner informed of his arrival on the frontiers, than he ſent to deſire he would remain where

be executed without the king's conſent, this was laid before him amongſt the reſt, upon which he aſked, what was the young man's trade? It was anſwered, that he followed his father's: then ſaid the king, I ſhall commute this puniſhment, by reſtraining him from meddling with ſtone or mortar for a twelvemonth. But after this tranſaction he puniſhed capital crimes in the clergy with death; and when they deſired that his majeſty would be pleaſed to refer their cauſes to a ſuperior tribunal, he anſwered very calmly, that is what I mean to do; for I ſend them to the higheſt of all tribunals, to that of their maker and mine. A woman of intrigue, whoſe name was Eleanor, having corrupted a young girl for his admiral Lanſorata Peſania, the king condemned the old woman to the flames, and the admiral to loſe his head. It is indeed true, that at the requeſt of the republic of Genoa, he pardoned him; but it was ſome years before he was ſuffered to appear again at court. Complaint being made to the king, that an officer of juſtice having delivered a ſummons to a perſon of diſtinction, he in a rage gave him a box in the ear, and pulled him by the beard; the king, turning to the ſheriff who was near him, ſaid, "ſuch a one, (naming the perſon of diſtinction,) gave me at ſuch a time a box of the ear, and pulled me by the beard," for which he was immediately apprehended, and loſt his head. If this inflexibility of his had ever digreſſed from the road of ſtrict juſtice; if he had ever reſpected perſons, or been leſs ſevere to thoſe about him than to the reſt of his ſubjects, he would have certainly become odious; whereas the rectitude of his conduct rendered him, in ſpite of his ſeverity, revered; inſomuch that his ſubjects ſaid unanimouſly of him on his death-bed, that ten ſuch years of government had never been ſeen before, nor would be ſeen again.

he

he was. When he had deliberated with his principal nobility, he acquainted him that he was sorry for his misfortune; but that his son, the prince Don Ferdinand, having taken an absolute resolution not to marry the infanta Donna Beatrix, as his subjects being by no means inclined to enter into a war with the people of Castile, he had sent back the princess with all her treasure, and desired he would seek some other retreat. Don Pedro attempted to retire into the castle of Albuquerque; but finding the gates shut against him, he had recourse once more to the king of Portugal, for a safe-conduct through his territories into Galicia, which had not yet declared against him. This was granted, and Don Ferdinand and Don Alvaro de Castro were sent to escort him, who, by the order of the infant Don Ferdinand, procured the means of escaping to Donna Leonora, the king's niece, and daughter of the count de Trastemara, by whom Don Pedro was dethroned [y]. This conduct in the Portuguese king was extremely satisfactory to his subjects, and opened a new passage for the reconciliation with Arragon, to which the infant Don Ferdinand was very much inclined; but before things could be reduced into any order, the king Don Pedro fell into a disease, which brought him to his end on the 8th of January, in the year of our Lord 1367, at Estremos, when he had reigned ten, and lived forty-seven years [z]. His device was a star, with these words, Monstrat Iter, *This shews the way*: as if, through the course of his reign, his thoughts had been fixed rather on a celestial than temporal state (D). His subjects expressed much concern for their loss, as foreseeing that the regularity which he introduced would not last much longer than its author; and therefore they applied to him what the Romans said of Titus, that either Don Pedro should never have been born, or never died.

[y] Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville, le Clede, E. Nunes, Mayerne, Turquet. [z] Ant. Vasconcellos Anacephaleosis, id est, summa capita actorum Regum Lusitaniæ, Ferreras, Historia de Espana, part. viii. sect. xiv.

(D) Don Pedro in his person was rather above the common size; his forehead high, and well spread; his eyes large, black, and very quick; his hair long, and his beard also, about which he was remarkably nice. He loved learning, and was himself a man of letters. He was pleased with music and dancing; wrote himself very elegant in verse, as appears from some compositions of his, which are still extant.

Don

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Don Ferdinand, the only son of the deceased king, by his first princess Donna Constantia Emanuel, ascended the throne with the universal acclamations of the people. He had a very fine person, was in the flower of his age, being about twenty-seven, courteous in his manners, very bountiful, and of a very easy chearful temper [a]. This prejudiced almost all men in his favour; and yet some of the old king's ministers began to doubt the stability of that great reformation, which with equal vigour and perseverance he had wrought, under a young prince who seemed to be in all respects the very reverse of that father. Instead of a sound and solid judgment, they perceived that Don Ferdinand had a warm, lively, and roving imagination, which he laboured to gratify, without considering consequences; that from strictness of morals, or even a proper respect for the decorum of his court, the king was inclined to pleasure, and troubled himself but little either about the conduct of others, or what they thought or said of his own. The frugality of the last reign was the jest of the present; insomuch that Don Ferdinand considered it as a hard task to dissipate the vast treasures which the three preceding kings had laid up. In a few words, he was a prince not without virtues, and those much superior to his vices; but he had a kind of levity in his disposition, beyond the power of education to correct, or experience to root out; and never shewed any constancy but in a single instance, and there it did him hurt. Yet notwithstanding this, his majestic presence, his being always in good humour, his boundless liberality, and a kind of sweetness in his nature, which discovered itself in all his actions, preserved him the affections of the populace, when he had lost the esteem of the wiser part of his subjects.

Don Ferdinand succeeds his father; his disposition, temper, and character.

The same humour that led him in his father's life-time to refuse the infant Donna Beatrix, and to prevent his giving any assistance, or so much as countenance, to her father Don Pedro, prompted him as soon as he had ascended the throne, to compliment the count of Trastemara, now styled king Henry of Castile, and to offer him his assistance and alliance. But when the affairs of that prince took another turn, and he was obliged to abandon that kingdom, which he had so lately acquired, Don Ferdinand never attempted to lend the least support to his falling fortune. He preserved, in all appearance, the same spirit of

He inclines to set himself up for the heir of Castile, on the death of Don Pedro the Cruel.

[a] E. Nunez, Ant. Vasconcellos, Lequien de la Neufville, le Clede, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana.

neutrality,

neutrality. After the prince of Wales's retreat, king Henry again entered Caſtile, and after a ſhort but ſharp ſtruggle, once more ſeated himſelf on that throne, from whence, uſing his own arm as the inſtrument, he had by death removed his brother. In his conduct hitherto, Don Ferdinand ſeemed to act the politician; but no ſooner was Don Pedro dead, than he declared himſelf moſt zealouſly in his favour, giving the opprobious names of tyrant, traitor, and murderer, to Henry, and aſſuming to himſelf the title of king of Caſtile, as great grandſon to Don Sancho the Brave. He coined money with the arms of Caſtile and Portugal; he ſuffered no diſtinction to be made at his court between the two nations; he received ſeveral towns on the frontiers into his protection; and beſtowed ſo bountifully lands and eſtates upon all the Caſtilian nobility who came to take refuge in Portugal, that his palace was quickly full of them, and his ſubjects ſaw with amazement their prince ſurrounded by thoſe as his favourites who but a little before were eſteemed his enemies. In order to ſupport his pretenſions, he found that taking a few malcontents into his pay would not go very far; he therefore projected a league with the king of Arragon, undertook to marry the infanta Leonora, his daughter, who had been promiſed to the prince of Caſtile, and to furniſh large ſubſidies for the aſſiſtance that prince was to give him. He entered into a negotiation likewiſe with the king of Granada; in which he alſo ſucceeded, and had no reaſon to complain of the infidelity of the Moor; and yet he gained not either credit or conqueſt by this war [b].

Enters into a war with king Henry, and ſoon after concludes a peace.

He began his military operations by making an irruption into Galicia with a ſmall army, where, after over-running the open country, he made himſelf maſter of Corunna, and ſome other places, into which having put competent garriſons, he found himſelf in no condition to keep the field; ſo that upon the approach of the Caſtilian army, he retired into his own territories. King Henry, who was an older man, and a better officer, did not amuſe himſelf with recovering the places he had taken; but fell with all his forces into Portugal, took the city of Braga, burnt it, and, waſting every thing with fire and ſword, paſſed through to his own frontiers. King Ferdi-

[b] Lequien de la Neufville, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, Faria y Souſa, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana, Ferreras.

nand,

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nand, having at length collected an army, marched againſt him, and ſent a herald before to challenge him; but Henry, too wiſe a king to take any notice of ſuch meſſages, retired into his own territories, to defend them againſt the king of Granada; who, in execution of his treaty, had made a powerful diverſion in favour of his ally. King Ferdinand ought to have acted in concert with him, and he actually had a fleet upon the coaſt of Andaluſia; but his motions were ſo unſteady, and he was ſo little equal to the taſk he had undertaken, that his ſubjects, who, in ſeveral excurſions had performed very gallant things, perceived and cenſured it publicly. He had ſent ſeveral noblemen and prelates of the firſt quality into Arragon, in order to accompliſh the negotiation which had been begun, and with them, as the Portugueſe writers ſay, eighteen hundred weight of gold, to be coined into money, to defray the expences of the war. He likewiſe equipped a ſquadron of ſix beautiful gallies to attend that on board which his queen was to embark, and which is ſaid to have been covered with gold to the water edge, and to have had ſails of ſilk, which he ſent to Barcelona. Notwithſtanding all this, and that he had married Donna Leonora of Arragon, publicly by proxy, he, at the perſuaſion of pope Gregory the Eleventh, and under the mediation of his nuncio, concluded a treaty with Henry of Caſtile; by which he undertook to deſert his old allies, to aſſiſt him againſt all powers whatever, and, in conſideration of ſeveral good towns and a large ſum of money, to eſpouſe Donna Leonora his daughter. This ſtep was ſufficient to diſguſt the king of Arragon, and the method he took to expreſs it was by laying his hands on the Portugueſe money [c].

Marries Donna Leonora de Tellez, which is very diſtaſteful to his ſubjects.

This ſtroke, which he might eaſily have foreſeen, brought him immediately under ſuch difficulties as none of his predeceſſors had ever felt; for the treaſure, not only of the crown, but of the kingdom of Portugal, being waſted, he had recourſe to that miſerable ſhift of falſe politicians, raiſing the value of the little coin that was left; from whence a long train of miſchiefs aroſe; of which becoming at length ſenſible, he reduced his coin again to its old value; but ſo improperly, that his ſubjects ſuffered full as much from the remedy as they had done from the diſeaſe. But as great an evil as this was, he found a way to

[c] Rainald, Zurita, Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana.

diminiſh

diminiſh the ſenſe of it, by bringing one much heavier upon his own ſhoulders and theirs. In the apartments of his ſiſter, the infanta Donna Beatrix, he ſaw a very lovely woman, whoſe charms did not at all ſuffer by any endeavours to conceal them. This lady was Donna Leonora Tellez, daughter to Martin Alonſo Tellez, brother to Don Juan Alonſo, count de Barcelos, and the wife of Juan Lorenzo da Cunha, a nobleman of one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families of Portugal. The king at firſt ſight became ſo exceſſively enamoured of her, that for the ſake of this third Leonora he forgot both his wives of the ſame name, the infantas of Arragon and Caſtile. The firſt perſon to whom he communicated his thoughts was her maiden ſiſter Donna Maria Tellez, a young lady not inferior to her in beauty, and in all other reſpects much more than her equal. Donna Maria anſwered him very prudently, that his majeſty would do well to ſtifle a paſſion equally inconſiſtent with her ſiſter's honour and his own; that he ought to reflect ſhe was already married; and that it would be equally dangerous and diſgraceful for him to take a woman out of the bed of her huſband, to receive her into his; that he was himſelf contracted to a princeſs equal to him in birth, and in every other reſpect worthy of his crown; and that this alliance being the principal article of the late peace, he had juſt reaſon to apprehend plunging his people into a new war, by the breach of it in ſo ſcandalous a manner. A man deaf to reaſon and conſcience is incapable of liſtening to any advice; this was the caſe of Don Ferdinand, who told Donna Maria, that her ſiſter's marriage being within the degrees of conſanguinity, and without a diſpenſation, was null and void; that he could very eaſily diſengage himſelf from his promiſe to the infanta of Caſtile; and that he ſhould not find it very difficult to bring the populace, at leaſt, to eſpouſe the cauſe of their prince. Donna Maria gave the like good advice, but with no better effect, to her ſiſter. Donna Leonora was proud of her conqueſt, and in raptures at the thoughts of being a queen. A proceſs was ſet on foot to diſſolve her marriage with Don Juan da Cunha: that nobleman, foreſeeing what would happen, made but a ſlight defence; ſo that the cauſe was ſoon at an end [d]. The king, in the mean time, acquainted his

[d] Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala, E. Nunez, Lequien de la Neufville, Ferreras, Le Clede, Mariana, Faria y Souſa, Mayerne Turquet.

neighbour

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neighbour of Castile, that he was desirous of observing the peace in all other points, but that having placed his affections elsewhere, he chose to decline the marriage with his daughter. Henry answered like a great king, that the infanta was to be sought, and not imposed; and that the peace being kept, the king of Portugal might marry where he pleased [e]. Don Ferdinand was much elated with his success, flattered himself he had managed things like a great politician; and having privately married Donna Leonora Tellez, carried her with him to Lisbon. There the people, headed by Ferdinand Velasquez, a taylor, raised an insurrection in the night, invested the palace, and threatened the most outrageous mischief, till the king came out into a balcony, assured them he was not married to Donna Leonora, and promised for their satisfaction, to make a solemn declaration of the same kind the next day in the church of St. Dominick. Instead of doing this, he conveyed himself and his bride privately to Santaren, caused the taylor and some of his chiefs to be seized and put to death; a step which stopped the clamour indeed, but heightened and extended the resentment of his subjects. A.D 1371.

Contrives to bring over the English, and breaks the peace lately made with Castile.

It was from this interval of compelled silence, that the king persuaded himself the nation was satisfied; and full of this false notion, he carried Donna Leonora into the province between the Douro and Minho, and there caused his marriage to be publicly celebrated, in the presence of the princes, prelates, and peers of Portugal; all of whom did homage to the new queen, except his brother the infant Don Denis, who openly declared his dislike of the marriage [f]. The new queen bent all her endeavours to extend her interest and influence; and the king understanding, that John, duke of Lancaster, son to Edward the Third, king of England, had assumed the title of king of Castile upon his marriage with Donna Constantia, the eldest surviving daughter of Don Pedro the Cruel, resolved to enter into an alliance with him, notwithstanding the pretensions which he himself had formed to this crown. He sent over for this purpose a minister into England; but laboured at the same time to keep his intentions secret from his subjects, who he knew would disapprove it [g]. The Castilians, however, about his court, having pene-

[e] Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. [f] Lequien de la Neufville, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede, Mayerne Turquet. [g] E. Nunez, Ferreras.

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trated his project, surprised the city of Tuy in Galicia, and renewed their excursions into their own country on every side. King Henry soon assembled a formidable army for the defence of his territories; but having heard that some ships belonging to his subjects had been seized at Lisbon, he sent an ambassador to reclaim them, and with him went Don Diego Lopez Pacheco, to bring him an account of the true state of affairs in Portugal, and how far the king was able to maintain this war, which he had entered into so precipitately, without receiving, or even pretending, any provocation on the side of Castile [h].

After a short but bloody war makes peace again.

On the return of Don Diego, and the coming over of the infant Don Denis, whom, in a high fit of passion, the king his brother would have stabbed with his dagger, if some of the nobility had not prevented him, Henry of Castile received such clear informations as left him no room to doubt, that by pushing the war with vigour, he might compel Don Ferdinand to make such a peace as he had made before, and obtain, perhaps, better securities for the performance of it. In the midst of winter, therefore, he detached his son Don Alonso with a good corps of troops into Portugal one way, while himself, with the rest of his army, entered it by another. He reduced Viseo, and from thence advanced to Coimbra, where, being joined by his forces from Andalusia, he might easily have taken the place. Indeed the Portuguese writers say he did take it; whereas the Spanish historians, who ought to be as well informed, assert, that the queen Donna Leonora being brought to bed there of the infanta Donna Beatrix, the king sent her a very polite message, that he meant her no disturbance; and, turning from thence, marched directly for Lisbon; where, either through treachery, or by surprize, he entered the lower city, and took up his quarters in the convent of St. Francis [i]. The king Don Ferdinand was at Santaren, from the walls of which he might discern the Castilian army marching to Lisbon; nevertheless he made no proper dispositions for its relief, though whatever commendable qualities he might want, courage was not of the number. Don Alonso, son to the king of Castile, took Cascaes on the Tagus, and the Castilian fleet became master of all the Portuguese fleet and gallies except four [k]. The Castilian,

[h] Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo. [i] Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala, E. Nunez, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [k] Faria y Sousa.

finding

finding it, however, impoſſible to reduce the whole city, and that his army began to diminiſh, burnt the beſt part of the town and retired [l]. In Galicia the Portugueſe were driven out of all the places they had taken; and the king himſelf became quite ſick of a war where he had nothing to hope, and all things to fear. He was extremely well pleaſed with the arrival of the pope's nuncio, and very readily accepted his mediation, though he knew the king of Caſtile would not grant him peace upon very moderate terms. Indeed, when the nuncio came to Henry, he did little leſs than dictate them; and though Don Ferdinand at firſt expreſſed ſome reluctancy, yet in the end he conſented to and ratified the articles. The principal points were, that the king ſhould once more deſert his allies, and ſtipulate to join a ſquadron to the Spaniſh fleet when employed for the French againſt the Engliſh; he farther promiſed, that this laſt nation ſhould receive no ſtores from Portugal; and that he would oblige the Caſtilian exiles to quit his dominions. When theſe points were ſettled, the kings had an interview upon the water, at which the nuncio was preſent. Don Sancho, brother to the Caſtilian monarch, eſpouſed the infanta Donna Beatrix, ſiſter to the king of Portugal; and more effectually to ſtrengthen their friendſhip between their families, king Ferdinand promiſed his natural daughter, Donna Iſabella, to Don Alonſo, king Henry's natural ſon, count of Gijon; and thus the war ended, much to the ſatisfaction of both kings, but to the great deſolation of both their kingdoms [m]. A. D. 1373.

The wonderful influence and addreſs of the queen Donna Leonora.

The king of Caſtile having the mortification to loſe his brother Don Sancho, who was unfortunately killed in a tumult, leaving the infanta Donna Beatrix big with child, reſolved to bind the king of Portugal, if poſſible, to his intereſt by a freſh alliance, and with this view propoſed, that his natural ſon, Don Frederick, ſhould eſpouſe the infanta Donna Beatrix, then in her cradle. This marriage ſeemed in many reſpects very unequal, and yet the ſtates of the kingdom, aſſembled at Leyria, approved it; in all probability determined to it, becauſe Don Frederick could not inherit the kingdom of Caſtile. It may be doubted whether the king meant any thing by it more than to keep things quiet on that ſide, having now framed

[l] Cronica del Rey Don Henrique Segundo, Mariana, Le Clede.
[m] Don Pedro Lopez de Ayala, E. Nunez, Lequien de la Neufville, Faria y Souſa, Le Clede, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana.

a project of a war with Arragon, to be revenged of that king for the money he had seized; but, like all his other projects, this proved only expensive and abortive [n]. His passion for his queen, Donna Leonora, seemed to increase daily, and the general hate of the people against her rose in the same proportion. She managed the one with great address; she sustained the other with equal intrepidity. By her interest with the king she procured all the great employments for her creatures, and when once she found herself secure, she thought it time to be beloved. It is inconceivable how soon and how effectually she changed the minds of the whole nation; she brought the king, who was naturally indolent, to be attentive; she granted audience to all that asked it; she procured favours in consequence of every audience; so that in a little time she was as much mistress of the court and of the people, as of the king. But her tranquility, if she really enjoyed any, was of very short continuance.

The cruel and infamous behaviour of that princess towards her own sister and the king's brother.

The infant Don Juan, the king's brother, infinitely beloved by the people, fell desperately in love with her sister Donna Maria, now the widow of Alvaro Dias de Suza, and finding her virtue impregnable, had secretly married her. This match might have proved a firm support to the queen; but she saw the thing in quite another light. She remembered the sentiments expressed by her sister at the time the king became first enamoured of herself; she reflected on his declining state of health, and on the probability there was that the people might set his brother upon the throne. This prospect, with other conceits of the same kind, inflamed her resentment to such a degree, that having sent for the infant Don Juan, after bestowing on him the most flattering caresses, she told him he had ruined all her designs in his favour, since she had intended to have given him the infanta Donna Beatrix as soon as she was capable of matrimony; that he had not only lost this princess, who would have brought the crown with her as a portion, but had lost her also for a woman who had dishonoured his bed. The infant, credulous, hasty, and ambitious, flew to Coimbra, where his wife was, and, without enquiry or expostulation, dispatched, or caused her to be dispatched with two strokes of a dagger [o]. As soon as he had committed this murder he retired to the frontiers of Castile. The queen, though she affected to

[n] Cronica del Rey don Henrique Segundo. Mariana, Ferreras.

[o] Ed. Nunez,

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appear inconsolable for the loss of her sister, yet obtained his pardon from the king, and very soon after he returned to court, where being in a short space of time undeceived with regard to the queen's intention, as well as her information, and perceiving that the grand-master of Avis, and the brother of his deceased wife, only waited for a fit opportunity to kill him, he withdrew again into Castile, and took shelter there with his sister Donna Beatrix, the widow of Don Sancho [p]. This horrid action revived the public hatred against the queen. Notwithstanding she practised her old arts of dissimulation, she was now unable to deceive any but the king, and him she held as fast in her toils as ever, though she misled him daily into new errors. A D. 1378.

Upon the death of Don Henry of Castile, and the accession of his son Don Juan, there followed a new negociation with the court of Portugal; for that prince having an heir born to him, immediately conceived a design of marrying him to Donna Beatrix, notwithstanding the contract between her and his bastard brother [q]. This proposition was eagerly embraced by Don Ferdinand; more especially on account of a singular circumstance which attended it; Don Juan consented, that if either of the parties died without issue, the survivor should inherit both kingdoms; and with this clause the contract was ratified in the most solemn manner by the states of Castile and Portugal. The queen suffered all this in compliance with the king's temper, who loved to embark in great schemes, though he was very unable to manage them. But the treaties were no sooner concluded and ratified than she contrived the means of breaking them. Don Juan Hernandez de Andeyro, one of those Castilian noblemen to whom the king had been so lavish of his favours, and who, upon the conclusion of the last peace with Henry king of Castile, had been obliged to retire to England, came over secretly from thence to acquaint the king, that the duke of Lancaster was taking effectual means to vindicate his right to the crown of Castile, and was therefore desirous of his alliance. The queen Donna Leonora supported this proposition, partly out of distaste to the treaty lately made, in which she had little or no share; but more out of affection to its author Andeyro; for this woman, as a Portuguese historian well observes, having

Begins without any provocation to meditate a new war against Castile.

[p] Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet, Le Clede. [q] Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

sacrificed her honour and her husband to a king, now sa-
A.D. 1380. crificed that king to her new gallant [r]. This strange measure was no sooner taken, than preparations were made for putting it in execution. A fleet was provided, the garrisons on the frontiers were reinforced, and levies made throughout the kingdom. It was impossible that things of this nature should be concealed, and Don Juan of Castile did not trouble himself to enquire into the reason. On the contrary, he assembled an army on the frontiers, and equipped a fleet at Seville. The revolt of his brother, the count de Gijon, who had married the king of Portugal's daughter, hindered the war from breaking out so soon as it would have done [s]. The king Don Ferdinand employed this respite in demolishing the Roman walls about the city of Evora, without reflecting that it would be impossible to put that place in any state of defence before it would be in danger, and that therefore it would have been much more prudent to have left it in its former condition. But the sense of this mistake was quickly obliterated by a greater: the fleet, when ready to sail, was put under the command of Don Juan Alonso, the queen's brother; and though it was superior in force to that of Castile, under Ferdinand Sanchez, yet, through the want of conduct in the count, it was defeated, and himself taken prisoner. This misfortune was followed by another still greater, which was the defeat of the Portuguese army by land, the loss of the town of Almeyda, which was taken by Don Juan of Castile, who thereupon disposed every thing for the siege of Lisbon [t]. Some say, this was proposed by the infant Don Juan of Portugal, who was in hopes of carrying it by intelligence within; but being disappointed he withdrew, to retreat it is highly probable the advanced season of the year might not a little contribute.

Carries it on by the assistance of the English.

The English fleet and army, under the command of Edmund, earl of Cambridge, entering without any interruption into the port of Lisbon, gave a new turn to affairs. The king of Castile found himself obliged to act for some time on the defensive, and saw, with no small chagrin, that his troops were not forward to engage these strangers, on account of the claim of the duke of Lancaster, in right of his wife Donna Constantia. On the other hand, Don Ferdinand of Portugal, who was charmed at this seasonable mark of attention shewed to him by a foreign power,

[r] Faria y Sousa, [s] E. Nunez, Mariana, La Neufville, Ferreras. [t] Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

grew

grew extremely fond of them; and with that warmth which was natural to him, propoſed and concluded a marriage between Edmund Plantagenet, the ſon of Edmund earl of Cambridge, then a child, and the infanta. While the diverſions attending this ſolemnity occupied the court, the count of Ourem breathed his laſt, and the queen procured his title to be beſtowed upon her favourite Andeyro, a circumſtance which occaſioned great murmurs amongſt the nobility[u]. An accident happened ſoon after that raiſed them higher; the queen ſeeing Andeyro, through ſome exerciſe or other, in a great ſweat, tore her veil, and gave it him to wipe his face. Don Juan, grand-maſter of Avis, and the king's brother, together with Gonçalo Vaſquez de Azevedo, took the liberty to expoſtulate with her upon the impropriety of this behaviour, at which ſhe diſſembled her reſentment. But after a little reflection, concluding it ſafeſt to take them out of the way, ſhe ſurreptitiouſly procured, or, as others ſay, forged an order from the king, directed to Vaſco Martinez de Melo, commanding him to ſeize and confine them in the caſtle of Evora, of which he was governor. Some time after a like order came to put them to death; but the governor, who was a man of parts and prudence, thought it expedient to ſhew this order to the king before he obeyed it. Don Ferdinand was very much amazed, and began to open his eyes a little on this proceeding. His fondneſs, however, for the queen was ſo great, that he ordered they ſhould remain ſome days longer in confinement; and when they were ſet at liberty, the favour was attributed to the queen, whoſe hands they were obliged to kiſs upon their coming to court[w]. Some writers ſay, that when ſhe found herſelf diſcovered, ſhe engaged the earl of Cambridge to aſk their releaſe; but which way ſoever the thing happened, it is certain that all parties were reconciled in ſhew, and continued to hate each other ſincerely in their hearts.

Concludes another peace with Caſtile, at the expence of the allies.

We have already given the hiſtory of this war in another place, and have ſhewn, that, partly through the miſunderſtandings between the Engliſh and Portugueſe, and partly through the natural mutability of Don Ferdinand's temper, a peace was ſuddenly concluded between the two crowns, in which it was ſtipulated, that the Portugueſe gallies

[u] Lequien de la Neufville, Hiſt. Gen. de Portugal, tom. i. p. 255. Mayerne, Ferreras, Le Clede.

[w] Ed. Nunez, Crónica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

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should be restored, and that the English army should be sent home in Spanish bottoms. When this treaty came to be ratified, Don Juan demurred to these two points, supposing that the Portuguese were now so embarrassed with their allies, as to be obliged to accept whatever terms he prescribed; but Don Ferdinand cut the matter short, by sending him a challenge, which, when the king of Castile had read, he contented himself with saying, "I did not think he had been so brave," and immediately subscribed the treaty. By this the infanta Donna Beatrix had a new husband given her, who was the infant Don Ferdinand of Castile, the king's second son, substituted instead of his elder brother, to prevent the union of the two kingdoms. The Portuguese in general were better pleased with this than with any of the former alliances; and the English being sent home, both nations began to breathe a little, and to taste with great satisfaction the sweets of peace. The court, however, was still disturbed with intrigues; the queen maintained her ascendancy; the grand-master studied to form a party amongst the nobility; and the king, though he grew daily more infirm, sighed for some new negotiation that might employ his thoughts, and it was not long before his wishes were gratified *; but it was, however, for the last time.

Offers his only daughter and heiress to the king of Castile.

The death of queen Leonora plunged the court of Castile into the deepest sorrow. The king was afflicted beyond measure; and the people were equally moved by the loss of the queen, and by that concern which he expressed for it. Don Ferdinand gave but a little time to grief; he regretted the queen, but remembered that the king of Castile was become a widower; he had already contracted his daughter, the infanta, to both his sons, he resolved now to offer her to the father. The queen was very well pleased with this motion; she perceived he could not live long, and she saw that in consequence of this marriage she might continue a queen, and even govern Portugal after his decease. Her favourite Andeyro, now styled count of Ourem, was fixed upon to be the ambassador; and his equipage was so splendid, and his expence at the court of Castile so large, that the Castilians made some smart reflections, not much to the honour of the court from whence he came. He succeeded, however, in his negotiation. The king Don Juan, struck with so advantageous an offer,

* La Neufville, E. Nunez, Chronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras,

accepted

accepted the terms upon which it was made, and sent an ambassador extraordinary to ratify them. The prudence shewn in the last treaty did not at all appear in this; for in case the infanta died without children, Don Juan was to enjoy the kingdom of Portugal; but, indeed, some of the Portuguese writers say, that to balance this, if the king and queen of Castile died without heirs, Don Ferdinand was to succeed, of which contingency, however, there was no great risque, since he was in a manner dying, and scarce lived to see the marriage, which was the last effort of his extraordinary politics[y].

Becomes persuaded of his queen Leonora's infidelity, and resolves to kill her gallant.

As the king's infirmities rendered it impossible for him to assist at it in person, the queen, who delighted in such magnificent spectacles, took the care upon herself, and provided every thing requisite, at a vast expence. When all was ready, she set out with her daughter, the infanta, who was scarce thirteen years of age, attended by the principal nobility of Portugal, for Estremos, where she was received by the archbishop of Compostella, chancellor of Castile, and who in quality of ambassador had negotiated this marriage. He was attended by the prelates, lords, and deputies of towns, who swore to the punctual performance of the treaty in all its branches: then the queen proceeded with the infanta to Yelves, where the king met his bride, and solemnly espoused her. Taking leave of queen Leonora, he conducted her that very evening to Badajoz, where next day he received the nuptial benediction in the cathedral church; at which ceremony also, the Portuguese plenipotentiaries were present. This was in the beginning of May; and some writers assert, that while the queen was thus employed, and had the pleasure of being idolized by two great nations, the king Don Ferdinand projected a very unpleasant reception for her favourite at his return, signifying his commands to Don Juan, grand-master of Avis, his brother, to put Don Ferdinand, count of Ourem, to death the first fair opportunity that should offer, without injury to the public peace. Others say, he dictated this order to his secretary; who having read it, took the liberty of observing to his majesty, that the master of Avis had already too great power over the people; and that it imported him very much to consider whether it would be for the interest of himself and family to augment his popularity, by intrusting him with such an

y E. Nunez, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Ferreras, La Neufville, Le Clede.

order;

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order; upon which the king, who affected the politician to the laſt, ordered the letter to be burnt. But the former account, for reaſons which will occur to the reader in the courſe of this hiſtory, ſeems to approach neareſt the truth. It appears, however, that this ſecret was ſo well kept, that not a tittle of it tranſpired upon their return to the frontiers, either to the queen or to himſelf [z].

Death of Don Ferdinand of Portugal, and ſorrow of his ſubjects.

The king bore a long and painful ſickneſs, with which he had been afflicted for ſome years, with wonderful patience and reſignation, even to the very laſt, and died with great marks of piety and compoſure of mind, on the 22d of October, 1383, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and in the ſixteenth of his reign. He directed, by his will, that his corps ſhould be buried without any ceremony at Santaren; and that every one of his domeſtics ſhould have a competent proviſion made for him during life, in conſideration of the great tenderneſs and indefatigable pains expreſſed by them in their attendance upon him during his declining ſtate of health [a] (G). His ſubjects had long expected his death; and the king of Caſtile waited for the news of it on the frontiers: yet when it happened it occaſioned a general conſternation, and the people expreſſed more affection in their mourning for this king than they had ſhewn in the time of his life [b].

His daughter Donna Beatrix proclaimed in Liſbon, but not acknowleged.

The firſt ſtep taken towards ſettling the government was made by the grand-maſter of Avis: he applied him-

[z] Cronica del Rey Joam I. de Fernant Lopez, par. i. Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede. [a] Faria y Souſa, Mariana, Le Clede, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [b] Lequien de la Neufville, Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal, tom. i. p. 267, 268. Faria y Souſa, Ferreras.

(G) This unfortunate monarch had a very fine perſon; he was tall, graceful, and majeſtic; his countenance oval; his eyes dark, but very briſk; his complexion fair; and his hair of a light brown. He was very adroit in his exerciſes; and whether he ſpoke or was ſilent, had ſomething in his manner that ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed him from his ſubjects, and taught even ſtrangers to perceive he was the king. In his ſecond war with Caſtile, he introduced two new dignities into Portugal, by creating Don Alvaro Pereira de Caſtro conſtable, and Don Ferdinand Countingo marſhal of the kingdom. His profuſion was in a manner incredible: he gave at once to Juan Alonſo de Moxica, a Caſtilian gentleman, fifty horſes, thirty mules, three ſuits of armour, thirty thouſand marks in ſilver plate, four horſe load of rich tapeſtry, beſides villages and lands.

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ſelf to the king of Caſtile, adviſed him to come without delay into Portugal, and intimated the expediency of leaving the government, when ſettled, in his hands till the young queen Donna Beatrix ſhould have a ſon. This was rejected, perhaps, with ſome degree of diſdain: upon which the grand-maſter thought it high time to reſpect his own ſafety, though not thoroughly determined as to the propereſt means for him to take. By the treaty, and by the king's will, the queen was to be regent, and to have the government: to which diſpoſition the magiſtracy of Liſbon ſeemed to aſſent, for they went to compliment her at the palace; but at the ſame time inſinuated to her, that ſhe would do well to be more attentive to the public concerns than her huſband had been, and ſhe received them in ſuch a manner, that they returned ſatisfied [c]. On the other hand, the king of Caſtile ſent ambaſſadors with compliments of condolence; but with inſtructions to demand that his conſort, Donna Beatrix, ſhould be proclaimed at Liſbon, and throughout the kingdom; for which orders were accordingly given [d]. Don Henry Manuel, count of Cintra, uncle by the mother's ſide to the late king, was appointed to diſplay the ſtandard in Liſbon; but in that, and indeed in moſt of the cities through the kingdom, this ceremony was interrupted by perſons who cried out, "Long live our lawful king Don Juan, the ſon of Don Pedro and of Donna Agnes de Caſtro." This prince, who was then in Caſtile, the king inſtantly ſent to priſon, as ſoon as he had intelligence of this event, and began to make the neceſſary proviſions for aſſembling forces on the frontiers [e].

Grand-maſter of Avis kills Don Ferdinand de Andeyro, in the royal palace.

Don Ruy de Pereyra, a man of great courage and quality, brought ſome troops into Liſbon for his defence: he was a determined enemy to the conjunction of Caſtile and Portugal, which he conſidered as a fair word for making the latter only a province to the former; and believing that this would be effected by the queen regent, by the advice of the count of Ourem, who was himſelf a Caſtilian, he firſt conceived the neceſſity of taking this man out of the way. He communicated his ſcheme to Alvaro Paez, who had been chancellor during the reigns of Don Pedro and his ſon Don Ferdinand, who approved it. They then ſent for the grand-maſter of Avis, and propoſed it to him, who objected that it might be ill received by the people,

[c] Faria y Souſa. [d] Ayala. [e] Ant. Vaſconcellos, Le Clede.

and

and that the queen would still have her brother, the count de Barcelos, who was a person of great weight and wisdom, to assist her in her designs. The chancellor told him, he would undertake for both. The grand-master replied roundly, that then he would dispatch Andeyro with his own hand. In the mean time the queen, having consulted with her favourite, summoned the grand-master to council; where, after declaring that they had intelligence of the king of Castile's arming with intention to invade Portugal, they proposed intrusting the command of the army on the frontiers with the grand-master; who, by these means, they thought to have removed to some distance, and had prepared, by great liberalities, to gain the people in his absence. The grand-master accepted the proposition without hesitation, and offered to set out without delay. He did so; but he returned suddenly, with the count de Barcelos, the chancellor, and Ruy Pereyra, and came to the palace a little before dinner. He told the queen, that he thought it not expedient to advance to the frontiers without troops; and she so little apprehended any danger, that she invited him to her table. He accepted the invitation; and going into another room, made a sign to Andeyro that he wanted to speak with him. Their conversation was but short: for the grand-master drawing a dagger, stabbed him. The count turned, and would have fled into the queen's apartment; but Pereyra prevented him by a thrust with his sword, which laid him dead at his feet. The queen was soon acquainted with the fact, which she bewailed bitterly, saying she had lost her best friend; that he was a martyr, and not a criminal; and that she would undergo the ordeal in support of his innocence. She next sent to the grand-master to know if she was to die too; but he answered, the queen had nothing to fear[f].

The populace support the grand-master, and carry him away in triumph.

At the instant of the count's death, the grand-master ordered the palace-gates to be shut, having first sent out the chancellor, and one of his own pages; the boy cried out, that his master was fast in the palace, and his life in danger, an assertion which the grave old chancellor confirmed. The whole city was immediately in arms; and Don Martin, bishop of Lisbon, retired for safety, with a friend or two, into the tower of his cathedral. The people seeing them there, called to them to ring the bell;

[f] Ayala, Lopez, Lequien de la Neufville, Mariana, Herrera, Mayerne Turquet, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede.

and

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and upon their refuſing, broke open the doors, ran up, and threw them into the ſtreets. This prelate was a man of an exemplary life, and his only crime was being a native of Caſtile. The grand-maſter having by this artifice diſcovered how thoroughly the people were in his intereſt, cauſed the gates of the palace to be opened, ſuffered them to reſcue him from the danger he was never in, and went with the count de Barcelos to a friend's houſe to dine with Don Ruy de Pereyra and the chancellor, leaving the queen at full liberty to bewail the ambitious and unfortunate Andeyro.

Match propoſed between him and queen Leonora, but rejected by her with contempt.

When the grand-maſter was more at leiſure, he went to make his excuſes to the queen; in which he partly juſtified what he had done, and partly caſt the weight of it upon neceſſity. The queen heard him with great indifference, and anſwered him but coldly: however, ſhe made one requeſt, which was, that ſhe might have leave to retire from Liſbon to Alenquez; to which he conſented; and ſhe went thither accordingly, attended by many of the firſt nobility; for in general the great families adhered to the queen. The grand-maſter, after her departure, affected even to his friends a very deep melancholy; ſuggeſted, that for the ſake of the people, and to make ſome effort to preſerve the liberties of his country, he had quitted an eaſy and a happy ſituation for a life ſo miſerable that he could not one hour count upon the next, and therefore weary of perpetual fatigue, and diſtracted with ſo hopeleſs a proſpect, he thought beſt to retire to England. The old chancellor, who was, perhaps, the only man that underſtood the grand-maſter's language, told him, that in a ſituation like his flight was always ſcandalous, and ſeldom ſafe; that he ſaw the people ready to do, or to ſuffer any thing for him; and that therefore he ought to embark their liberty and his ſafety on the ſame bottom. In the end, the grand-maſter ſuffered himſelf by a gentle violence to be drawn to this concluſion[t]. A propoſition was then made to the queen Donna Leonora, that for the ſake of a peace, to recover her own power, and to extinguiſh the memory of all that was paſt, ſhe ſhould marry the grand-maſter, and with him hold the regency till her daughter ſhould have a child of age to aſſume the government; but the queen rejected theſe terms with contempt, and repeated her applications to Don Juan of Caſtile, for aſſiſtance and

[t] Faria y Souſa, Ferreras, Lequien de la Neufville, Hiſt. Gen. de Portugal, tom. i. p. 273, 274, Mayerne Turquet.

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protection. The commons threatened those who held out the castle of Lisbon into a surrender, from the apprehension of seeing their wives and children murdered before their faces. Then they proclaimed the grand-master protector of the Portuguese nation, and regent of the kingdom, promising never to forsake him, and conjuring him to neglect nothing that might contribute to their mutual defence [h].

Don Juan of Castile assumes the title of king of Portugal, in his queen's right.

Upon the queen's repeated intreaties, and on her promise to meet him at Santaren, Don Juan of Castile began his march towards Portugal, with a considerable body of forces, following in that respect the advice of the younger part of his council; whereas graver heads had persuaded him to adhere strictly to the treaty, to send ambassadors before him into Portugal, with the strongest assurances on that head, and to propound only the restitution of the power of the queen dowager, in conjunction with a council to be chosen by the states. The reason he rejected this was that he looked upon the conquest of Portugal as a thing equally easy and certain, and therefore to be undertaken at once. On his approaching Guarda, the gates were opened by the command of the bishop, who was chancellor to queen Leonora. He proceeded next to Santaren, where the queen met him, and where he insisted she should resign all title to the regency; a command in which she acquiesced, though unwillingly. He then made a public entry with his queen, and caused himself and her to be proclaimed, adding Portugal and Algarve to his titles; then he ordered money to be coined with his own bust, and on the reverse the arms of both kingdoms [i]. Excursions were now daily made into Portugal by the Castilians, and into Castile by the Portuguese: but Don Juan, not well satisfied with his mother's humour, shewed little regard to her advice, and less to her request; while her daughter, Donna Beatrix, treated her with great freedom and indifference. The Portuguese lords were not better satisfied: they were indeed well entertained; but the king was not so familiar with them as Don Ferdinand had been; neither did they meet with the golden showers they expected: on the whole, there was much dissatisfaction amongst them. The king disdaining to take any cognizance of such little quarrels, applied himself to the assembling of an army that might be numerous enough to in-

[h] Lopez, le Clede. Mayerne Turquet.

[i] Lopez, Faria y Sousa, la Neufville,

vest

veſt and beſiege Liſbon, in conjunction with thoſe of the nation who were ſtill in his intereſts; and believed that it was very practicable, in ſpite of the averſion of the populace, to fix him upon the throne[k]. Moſt of the ſtrong places, and the major part of the kingdom had declared for him; but he had not ſufficiently conſidered that they might alter their opinion, and that he had not an army numerous enough to ſecure them by Caſtilian garriſons.

The grand-maſter declared regent and protector of Portugal, by the people.

On the other hand the regent, from the time he aſſumed that title and office, acted with all the prudence and ſagacity imaginable. He was himſelf one of the ableſt politicians ever embarked in a ſcene of this nature; yet he was content to be adviſed in every thing, and had penetration enough to make choice of a council who were really capable to adviſe him. The office of chancellor he beſtowed upon Rigas, a man of great parts, whoſe pathetic eloquence had a ſtrong influence upon the people. He took this ſtep at the motion of Alvaro Paez, who had held that office long, and now wanted ſtrength to go through it. "At preſent, ſaid he to the regent, the buſineſs is not power but ſafety." However, he was the firſt man ſworn of the regent's council, and how well he deſerved it, appears from the maxim he recommended to him when he ſeemed diffident of the high profeſſions that were made to him. To fix theſe people in your intereſt, ſaid Alvaro, you muſt give them what is none of your own, and reward them with what is not in your power; meaning, that he ſhould promiſe them confiſcations, and the governments of places, then in the hands of the queen. He likewiſe adviſed the regent to ſend an ambaſſador to England, to demand the aſſiſtance of the duke of Lancaſter. And no doubt it was by his inſtructions that this miniſter made no ſcruple of turning prophet, in giving the title of king of Portugal to his maſter long before he aſſumed it. The regent himſelf made no ſcruple of practiſing every art for his own advantage. Perceiving that numbers were inclined to the infant Don Juan, he cauſed him to be depicted in his ſtandards, lying on a bed of ſtraw, with irons on his legs, as if he had been ſo treated in Caſtile; by which repreſentation he animated the populace againſt their enemies, and made the phraſe of the king Don Juan fami-

[k] Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, Lopez, le Clede

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liar[l]. The war could not be carried on without treasure? the plunder of the queen's friends, and the plate of the churches, afforded a ready and convenient supply, yet he received it with reluctance; and declaring his sincere intention to replace it, he kept those who were stripped from engaging against him, and brought the priests to act vigorously on his side. In the whole course of his conduct, he never lost sight of old Paez's first admonition, "haughty to your foes, and humble to your friends." When he spoke of the liberty of Portugal, it was in the language of the old Romans; but in his applications to the people, he was so modest, and so resigned, that all things were forced upon him, and he seemed to be no more than an engine directed at their pleasure. The nobility saw through this, and thought to expose it, by calling his adherents the disciples of the Messiah; but as there is no reasoning, so there is no jesting with the multitude, for they took this literally, and retorting it upon his opponents, called them infidels and Jews[m].

An attempt made on the king's life, by connivance of the queen-dowager Donna Leonora.

After all the pains taken by the regent, and in spite of all his address, he might very probably have been crushed by the power of the king Don Juan, and of the party who remained firm to the interest of queen Beatrix, if their affairs had been conducted with equal spirit, or if the like unanimity had prevailed amongst them. The queen-dowager, heated by her resentment, and forgetting against whom she acted, endeavoured to diffuse amongst her creatures an opinion that she was injured, and that to secure their own liberties, and obtain justice for her, the shortest way was to reconcile themselves to the regent; upon this suggestion many who doubted on which side to act took her advice. The king, her son-in-law, expostulated this matter warmly, more especially as he had been refused entrance into Coimbra by Don Gonçalo Tellez, her brother. The queen gave so plausible an account of this matter, that the king knew not what to think, more especially when she proposed going herself with him to Coimbra, in order to oblige her brother to put that important place into his hands. He carried her thither accordingly, and in a conference with Don Gonçalo she reasoned,

[l] Ant. Vasconcellos Anacephalæosis, id est, suma capita actorum Regum Lusitaniæ, Lequien de la Neufville, Ferreras, Historia de Espanna, part viii. § xiv. Mayerne Turquet, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, Mariana. [m] Lopez, Faria y Sousa, le Clede, Mariana, Ferreras. Mayerne Turquet.

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threatened, commanded, intreated, and cajoled him in such a manner, that Don Juan could not doubt of her intention, though all proved ineffectual, and her brother could be only brought to promise, that when a king of Portugal should demand them, he would deliver the keys[a]. Queen Leonora laid hold of this expression to facilitate a most horrid design, which she had formed against the king's life. Don Pedro, count of Trastemara, and Don Alonso, his brother, near relations to the king, were in the camp: the latter had an intrigue with one of the queen's ladies of honour, who proposed to him that count Pedro should kill the king, marry the queen regent her mistress, and declare himself king of Portugal; and as he might be assured that Coimbra would be rendered to him by her brother, he might rest satisfied that other cities and towns would take the same step. Don Pedro was weak and wicked enough to enter into this wild scheme: in the management of which he was obliged to trust a Jew, who either through fear of punishment, or hopes of reward, discovered it to the king; upon which, immediate orders being given to double the guards, a servant of Don Pedro's carried him the news; and, as guilt is easily alarmed, he made his escape. The king charged Donna Leonora with it before the queen her daughter; but without being disconcerted, she denied the whole, and when the Jew was produced, she treated him as an informer and impostor. This denial, however, made no impression on Don Juan, who, by the advice of his council, sent her prisoner into Castile[b].

Lisbon besieged by the king Don Juan; and by the plague, breaking out in the army, saved.

As the king's sole dependence was now on his arms, he sent orders to Seville to equip a fleet, which was intended to block up the river of Lisbon; and at the same time directed, that the principal nobility in his dominions should march to his assistance, with all the forces they could raise. In the mean time hearing every day of places revolting to the regent, he resolved to punish what he treated as a spirit of rebellion, and sent out detachments to burn and plunder; who did their business without the least mixture of pity or regret. The regent, who now saw all at stake, ordered the small fleet that he had at Lisbon to repair to Porto, that they might not be blocked up; and directed his let-

[a] Ant. Vasconcellos, Histoire de Espanna. part viii. § xiv.
[b] Lequien de la Neufville, Histoire generale de Portugal, tom. i. Mariana, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero. Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

ters to all the maritime places in the kingdom, requiring them to send thither what naval force they could equip. To restrain the Castilian troops, he gave the command of the best part of his to Nugno Alvarez Pereyra, one of the bravest and best officers he had. Notwithstanding his elder brother, the prior of Crato, who was in the service of the king of Castile, laboured all that was in his power to draw this officer to that interest, he rejected all offers; and with great intrepidity, though with forces far inferior to the enemy, attacked the Castilians, and gained a glorious victory. This answered the intended end of restraining incursions; but the king Don Juan's reinforcements arriving daily, he was quickly in a condition to undertake what was the main object of his desires, the siege of Lisbon. As soon as he had the news that his fleet was arrived before it, he marched with a numerous and well-disciplined army, with which he invested the place, not at all doubtful of the event, as the enemy had no succours to expect, and as his troops were abundantly supplied with provisions from the fruitful countries that lay behind them. The presence of the regent was the great strength of the place; for the number of troops he had was very small, and he had no army in the field in a condition to raise it. He defended himself, however, with great spirit and resolution; and having good intelligence, executed some bold sallies with success. His fleet at Porto, being gradually augmented, put to sea, and seized all the ships upon the coasts of Castile, by which they made a prodigious booty. After having carried their prizes to Porto, they entered the port of Lisbon, and blocked up the Castilian fleet, that had hitherto acted against the town[p]. The king of Castile's superior force, which gained him in the course of the siege many advantages, would in the end have carried the place, had not an epidemic distemper, little differing from a plague, broke out in his army, and made such devastation that he at length thought it expedient to try what a negotiation might produce[q]. The regent readily listened to this proposal, as it raised the spirits of his own people, and as he knew the disease would continue to act while hostilities were suspended. The king proposed, that if he would proclaim him and queen Beatrix, he would leave the regency of the kingdom to him, in conjunction with a Castilian nobleman. The regent

[p] Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, Lopez, Mariana, Ferreras.
[q] Faria y Sousa, le Clede, la Neufville.

having

having protracted the treaty for some time, answered, that this expedient was against his principle, since he only fought to preserve the government of Portugal to the Portuguese. While the negotiation lasted, he wrote to the constable at Evora to assemble all the troops he possibly could raise, and to advance towards Lisbon, to countenance a sally he intended to make with his whole force; but Don Juan of Castile hindered his orders from taking effect, by raising the siege suddenly, and retiring with the wretched remains of his army, as fast as they were able to march, towards his own dominions. The inhabitants of Lisbon attributed their happy deliverance, entirely to the vigilance, valour, and fortune of the regent, who for the first time repressed and reproved the people, exhorting them to repair to their churches, and pay their thanks where it was due, since it was God who had delivered them, and not a mean contemptible man like him. This self-denial had a good effect; the people took his advice, and for a whole day there was nothing seen but a decent and composed spirit of devotion, to which they were principally excited by the example of the regent himself[r].

The king and his Castilians lose entirely the affections of the Portuguese.

It was not without reason that the regent, or protector, of Portugal, affected so much religious and civil prudence in all his actions; for beyond question it was entirely due to this caution and circumspection that the city escaped ruin; as the outworks were lost, and Don Pedro de Castro had formed a conspiracy for delivering up a great part of the city. Famine had made as sharp attacks within, as the plague without: nor would the king of Castile after all have raised the siege, if the queen had not fallen sick. Don Juan therefore acted as wisely as worthily in attributing their common deliverance to the special interposition of Providence; which, upon reflection, filled the people with still higher sentiments of him than those they had at first expressed: insomuch, that they offered themselves, and all that they had to his will; an offer which was so much the more extraordinary, as few nations have valued liberty more, or understood it better than the Portuguese. The friends of the regent advised him to lay hold of this transport of popular affection, and prosecute his good fortune; which counsel he accepted from a nobler motive, that of providing for the health and happiness of the people. He drew some thousands of the

[r] Lequien de la Neufville, le Clede, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

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younger sort into the field, that the citizens might be more at their ease; and sent great quantities of provisions to Lisbon. His expedition was attended with all the success he could desire: many fortified places opened their gates, several persons of great distinction came over to his party; some out of respect to his person and his merit; some through their zeal for liberty; but the greater part out of hatred and malice to the Castilians, who, as they never were beloved by the Portuguese, had now, by their own ill conduct, heightened prejudice into aversion, and swelled natural dislike into irreconcilable detestation.

He gives encouragement to the count de Trastemara to conspire against the regent.

The king Don Juan of Castile, notwithstanding this severe check, still kept up his pretensions, appointed such as would accept commissions from him governors of the towns they held, and began to raise in his own dominions such an army as if he had employed at first would infallibly have conquered Portugal[a]. Yet in the midst of these preparations he had recourse to a sinister method; which not only failed him, but was in other respects also highly detrimental to his interests. He wrote to the count de Trastemara, whom queen Leonora had embarked in a design against his own life, that he might recover his favour, and prevent the confiscation of his vast estate, if he could by any means compass the death of the regent. The count who, notwithstanding his alliance to the royal family, was very fit for such an enterprize, readily embraced the proposal, and drew into the design Don Pedro de Castro, to whom the regent had given his life when detected in a former conspiracy. John Duque, governor of Torres Vedras, Juan Alonso de Baeza, and Garcia Gonçales de Valdez, were also embarked in this black conspiracy; into which they also seduced Figueredo, who had been governor of the castle of Gaya, and leaving it in the hands of his wife, she had so tormented the country round about that the nobility in the neighbourhood rose, and took it from her; and this insult, he was to revenge upon the regent. It was also communicated to the count Don Gonçales de Tellez, brother to queen Leonora; but these two last, after a little reflection, repented, and gave the regent notice of his danger at the very instant it was to have been executed. The count and Don Pedro de Castro made their escape, so did Alonso de Baez; but Garcia Gonçales de Valdez was taken, and by the regent's order

[a] Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

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burnt alive[t]. John Duque was so provoked at this execution, that he cut off the hands and noses of six Portuguese gentlemen who were his prisoners, and sent them to the regent; who immediately commanded six Castilian gentlemen to be treated in the same manner; but before the officer to whom he spoke quitted the room, he said, "I have given enough to resentment in issuing such an order; but it would be infamous to carry it into execution: see that the Castilians suffer no hurt." This, most authors agree, was the greatest action of his life[u]. The Castilians themselves were so sensible of it, that they began to act with less rigour in regard to such of his party as fell into their hands.

The states of Portugal assemble at Coimbra, to judge of the affairs of the kingdom.

The people of Portugal in general saw clearly, that without restoring the ancient form of government they must be undone; and if they wanted a king long, their country would cease to be a kingdom. An assembly of the states was called at Coimbra, to meet at Easter; which if not by the regent's authority, was at least by his consent: and he went thither to share in, and attend the event of their consultations. It is said, that at some distance from the city, he was met by a great number of boys upon hobby-horses, or riding upon their sticks, who no sooner saw him, than they cried out, "Long live Don Juan! Don Juan king of Portugal comes in a happy time! Don Juan shall be our king!" Whether this salutation was owing to art or accident, it had a great effect. The archbishop of Braga presided in this assembly: in which were present the bishops of Lisbon, Lamego, Porto, Coimbra, and Guarda, with many of the nobility, and most of the deputies of cities. The chancellor Regras made a long and laboured speech, in which he endeavoured to shew, that the throne was really vacant; and therefore as it was their duty to fill it, he recommended the regent to their choice, as the person who for many reasons best deserved it[w]. This proposal, though acceptable to many, was not so to all: Don Vasco da Cunha, a man of great quality, and greater probity, rose up, and declared, that he was far from being persuaded by what he had heard: that hitherto none had pretended to doubt the reality of

[t] E. Nunez de Leon as Cronicas dos Reis de Portugal, Faria y Sousa, Ant. Vasconcellos, Joseph Teixera. [u] Garibay.
[w] Lequien de la Neufville, Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet, E. Nunez, Mariana.

Don Pedro's marriage with Donna Agnes de Caſtro; and that if this marriage was valid, Don Juan, though an exile, and a priſoner, was king of Portugal. He cloſed his ſpeech, however, with ſaying, that if the ſtates were of another opinion, and ſhould think themſelves at liberty to chuſe a king, he ſhould look upon himſelf as bound to obey. The conſtable Don Nugno Alvarez de Pereira, when he ſaw that this ſpeech, which was ſupported alſo by Don Vaſco's two brothers, made a great impreſſion upon the aſſembly, was for putting an end to the oppoſition, by making away with him on the ſpot. But the regent interpoſing, prevented any violence: the conſtable had then recourſe to words. He told the ſtates, that Portugal would be undone without a king: that let the right of Don Juan be what it would, the nation had no hand either in his exile, or in his captivity, and therefore ought not to ſuffer by it; that ſome people thought the title in Donna Beatrix; that the king of Caſtile had thought proper to aſſume it; and by that act had cancelled all claim to it; that others were for Don Juan, the ſon of Donna Agnes; that he thought where three ſovereigns claimed there was no allegiance due; that the ſtates of Portugal were the ſole judges of ſo embarraſſed a queſtion; that the people could be no longer without a head; and that without loſing time in debates, the ſtates ought to name him. This declaration brought things round again, and the aſſembly ſeemed in general inclined to come to a reſolution, when the regent deſired to be heard, and a deep ſilence enſued [x].

Diſqualifying ſpeech made in that aſſembly by the regent.

He began with ſetting forth the miſery of their preſent condition; the juſt apprehenſions they were under of having thoſe miſeries for ever entailed upon their poſterity, by falling under the dominion of a foreign power. He expatiated on the troubles, dangers, and hardſhips to which by his office of regent, or protector, he was expoſed. He ſaid, he pretended no right to the crown, nor did he deſire it. That the king of Caſtile had plainly forfeited his, and the queen's likewiſe, by entering Portugal with an army, in breach of the treaty, from which alone her right could ariſe. That with reſpect to the infant Don Juan, if the ſtates would declare him their king, he was content to take the ſame pains that he had hitherto done; that he was ready to ſwear to him as his lawful

[x] Ant. Vaſconcellos, Faria y Souſa, Mayerne Turquet.

ſovereign;

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ſoverign; to expel the Caſtilians out of his dominions; and to defend them for him till Providence, by reſtoring him to his liberty, ſhould reſtore to Portugal her lawful king. That from what he knew of the weight and duties of that high office, he was ſenſible he wanted talents to diſcharge it; but that to expel ſtrangers, to preſerve the liberties of the people, and to keep the crown for its lawful owner, he was ready to expoſe himſelf to any labour or hazard[y]. The aſſembly underſtood this ſpeech, perhaps as it was intended, as a modeſt refuſal, that might render the placing the crown upon his head more grateful to the people of Portugal. Accordingly, the queſtion being put, the regent was unanimouſly declared king, and Don Vaſco da Cunha was one of the firſt who complimented him upon his election, and made him a tender of his ſervices.

Don Juan declared king, which puts an end to the interregnum.

Thus ended that long interregnum which had been ſo fatal to Portugal, which had deſtroyed the face of government throughout the beſt part of the kingdom, and rent the whole nation into factions, and introduced a foreign army into the heart of the country; which had put a full ſtop to induſtry, and by taking away ſecurity, had rendered a great part even of the moſt fertile provinces deſert.

[y] Joſeph Teixera. E. Nunez, Garibay, Lequien de la Neufville.

SECT. IV.

Comprehending the Reigns of John I. Edward, Alonso V. and John II.

Additional restrictions upon Don Juan, when declared and acknowleged.

DON Juan, grand-master of the order of Avis, was declared king by the states of Portugal, at Coimbra, on the sixth of April, and we shall therefore style him for the future John the First, as it will enable us to distinguish him the better from his competitor, Don Juan king of Castile (A). Those who made him a king thought fit to prescribe some additional articles to the old laws of Lamego; such as that he should exclude from his council, and the magistracy of towns, all the creatures of queen Leonora; that he should be very careful in bestowing the great offices of the kingdom, and of his houshold; that in all cases of any moment he should take the advice of his council, and be for that purpose attended by a committee wherever he went; that he should not conclude peace, or declare war, but with the assent of the states; and that he should not interpose his authority in making or dissolving marriages, which ought to be entirely free, and not subject to any controul; nevertheless the new king should be obliged to ask the assent of the states before he entered into wedlock. The king readily ratified all but the last. He said, that marriage was the prerogative of every man; that he would promise them never to invade it, and for this reason he was unwilling to lose it. The states acquiesced, the king swore to the rest, and was then proclaimed: as to the solemnity of a coronation, he referred it till they were more at leisure. He declared the constable Nugno Alvarez, major-domo; his brother Alvaro Pereyra, marshal of the kingdom; Vasco da Cunha, standard-bearer. Regras was continued in his office of chancellor, and all were sworn of his council, with some other lords of equal character and reputation.

(A) Don Juan was the natural son of Don Pedro the Lover of Justice, by Donna Theresa Lorenza, a Galician lady, and born, as the best writers say, at Lisbon, on the 22d of April 1357, which was one great reason why the people of that city were so early, and continued so steadily, attached to him.

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tion [a]. The king and the conſtable both took the field, and reduced ſeveral places by force, and recovered others by compoſition, particularly the city of Braga. The king gave very honourable terms to the Caſtilian officers who defended places againſt him, but refuſed them to the Portugueſe, whom he now affected to treat as rebels [b].

The king of Caſtile invades Portugal with the whole force of his dominions.

At length, Don Juan of Caſtile, at the head of the whole force of his dominions, and with the flower of the Caſtilian nobility, entered the provinee of Alentejo; and, as the Portugueſe hiſtorians ſay, beſieged Elvas without effect; ſo that being obliged to retire from before it, he returned to Ciudad Rodrigo, in his own dominions, full of reſentment and chagrin. There he held a council of war; in which, yielding to the opinions of the young and hot-headed nobility, he reſolved to invade Portugal again; to ruin all the country before him; to drive the maſter of Avis, as they ſtyled him, once more into Liſbon; and not to depart from before that city till ſhe owned her lawful king. This ſcheme was purſued, ſeveral places were taken and ſacked. In the mean time, John king of Portugal lay at Abrantes, with a ſmall army, as if he deſpaired of expelling the enemy, and was at a loſs what meaſures to take. But in reality he waited for the Engliſh ſuccours; and his prudence and courage were ſo well known, that notwithſtanding appearances were ſo much againſt him, no perſon ventured to cenſure his conduct. The conſtable Don Nugno Alvarez alone preſſed the king to fight: he ſaid the ardour of his troops would ſupply the want of numbers; and that it was diſhonourable to ſee the kingdom burnt and ſpoiled, without attempting its relief. The king heard him patiently, and gave him good words; but did not ſhew his uſual alacrity in marching to find out the enemy. At length an officer he had ſent to view the Caſtilian army, returned, and publiſhed through the camp, that though the report was true as to their numbers; yet that they were extremely harraſſed, were in great want of proviſion, and ſo diſperſed that they might be eaſily ſurprized. This report he circulated by the king's expreſs orders; for there was not a ſingle word of it true, the army of Caſtile being in

[a] Manuel Faria y Souſa, Cronica del Rey Don Juan I. e dos Ruys de Portugal o decimo; compoſta por Fernam Lopez. fol. Fernando de Menezez, vida e acçones del Rey Don Juan I. 4to. Lequien de la Neufville, le Clede.

[b] Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero.

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the plains of Aljubarota, very ſtrongly poſted, and very well ſupplied.

Is entirely defeated by the king of Portugal, in the plains of Aljubarota.

The Portugueſe ſoldiers cried out to be led to the battle; the conſtable expoſtulated again with the king; and he, as if over-perſuaded, at laſt gave orders to march. The Caſtilians had great advantages if they had preſerved them: their army conſiſted, according to the beſt accounts, of thirty thouſand men. Some Portugueſe hiſtorians make theirs but ſix thouſand ſix hundred; but the Caſtilians ſay they were ten thouſand. The conſtable led the van, Men Rodriguez commanded one wing, Antonio Vaſquez the other, and the king was in the center. The Caſtilians advanced precipitately to the action, and were not only the aggreſſors, but charged with ſuch fury that the conſtable with his troops loſt ground. The king of Portugal perceived this circumſtance, and ordered the main body of his forces to open and give them way. The enemy, diſordered in the purſuit, he attacked on their flanks, and in half an hour their rout became unavoidable. A multitude of their beſt officers were killed upon the ſpot; the king of Caſtile fled that night upon a mule to Santaren, upwards of thirty miles. This deciſive victory was gained on the fourteenth of Auguſt, by four in
A.D. 1385. the afternoon. The Caſtilians loſt ten thouſand men; all the places in the neighbourhood ſurrendered; and the conſtable immediately after made an irruption into the dominions of Caſtile, where he had the good fortune to defeat the grand-maſter of the order of St. James, who was killed upon the ſpot, and returned, covered with glory, into Portugal[c]. This campaign fixed the fate of Portugal, and rendered the authority of king John permanent and ſtable.

King John eſpouſes the lady Philippa, daughter to John duke of Lancaſter.

The king created the conſtable upon his return count of Ourem, and rewarded the reſt of his officers with great magnificence. At the opening of the next year he reduced Chaves, after a long ſiege. He next made an irruption into Caſtile in perſon, and beſieged Coria; but without effect. Upon his being obliged to raiſe it, his uſual diſcretion deſerted him, and he happened to ſay, though in a jeſting manner, "That he would have taken the place if, like king Arthur, he had had good knights at his round table." Men Rodriguez de Vaſconcellos anſwered immediately, "That poſſibly the knights of the

[c] Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, Manuel Faria y Souſa, Fernando de Menezez, Mariana, Ferreras.

round

round table had more reason to complain they were not blessed with an Arthur, to distinguish their valour, and make a right use of it." The king saw his mistake, and held his tongue [d]. The duke of Lancaster arriving at Corunna, the king went to meet him, and finding with him his consort Donna Constantia, who took the title of queen of Castile, and his daughters, he quickly concluded a marriage with the eldest Donna Philippa; and as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from the pope, the marriage was celebrated at Lisbon [e]. We have already given the history of this war; and shall not therefore dwell any longer than is absolutely necessary upon it here. The king, in conjunction with his father-in-law, made an irruption into Castile, without gaining any great advantage; for Don Juan being informed how ill the sultry heats of Galicia agreed with the English, put good garrisons into his frontiers, and withdrew all provisions: so that the English and Portuguese were glad to retreat without fighting. At his return to Lisbon king John fell dangerously ill, and his queen miscarried; which event with the miserable circumstances the kingdom was in, caused a great consternation: from which, however, they were in some measure relieved by the king and queen's recovery [f].

Compels the Castilians to own and conclude a truce with him for three years.

By king John's advice, the duke of Lancaster, with his family and forces, embarked, under the escort of a Portuguese squadron, for the dominions of the crown of England in France, with full assurance that he would return the next year with a more numerous army. But after he was at Bayonne, it appeared that he had made a treaty with the king of Castile, by which the prince Don Henry, his eldest son, was to espouse Donna Catalina, the duke's second daughter [g]. The Spanish historians say, that this treaty gave great uneasiness in Portugal; but the Portuguese affirm, that the king, all things considered, was not so much offended as he appeared to be, as foreseeing that it would bring about a peace, of which he was in great need [h]. He reduced some of the few places that still held out, and then made an irruption into Castile; but soon after returned to Braga, in order to hold

[d] Fernam Lopez, Lequien de la Neufville, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras. [e] Tho. Walsingham, Rainald, le Clede, Mariana, Ferreras. [f] Fernando de Menezez, Ant. Vasconcellos. [g] Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero, Fernam Lopez, Lequien de la Neufville. [h] Faria y Sousa, le Clede.

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an aſſembly of the ſtates: where, by recommending it ſtrongly to them to ſpare the people in their taxes, he carried his point, and obtained as great a ſubſidy as he could deſire; which, in ſpite of their poverty, the people very chearfully paid. The king afterwards made an irruption into Galicia, where he was ſo fortunate as to reduce the city of Tuy, and the town of Salvaterra. The Caſtilian offered if they were reſtored to conclude a truce for a certain term, and to deliver up ſome places which he ſtill held. To which propoſal, king John very readily aſſented. His intereſt with pope Boniface the Ninth was ſo good, that he obtained from him the erection of Liſ-
A.D. 1388. bon into an archiepiſcopal ſee [i]. The peace with Caſtile would not perhaps have been of any long duration, if the king Don Juan had lived; for the Caſtilian nobility were extremely piqued at what they took to be a diminution of their honour; but the king being killed by a fall from his horſe, and leaving no iſſue by his queen Donna Beatrix, all colour of making war upon Portugal ceaſed. In the minority of the young king the truce was prolonged for fifteen years, with great advantage to Portugal: but the hiſtorians of that country ſay, that theſe terms were but ill obſerved by the Caſtilians; for which they aſſert, their
A.D. 1423. king would have procured ſatisfaction by force of arms, if ſome domeſtic troubles had not prevented them; but as to the riſe and nature of theſe troubles, authors are not very well agreed [k].

The conſtable differs with the king, but at length comes into his meaſures.

The chancellor Regras, who was a great politician and a very plauſible ſpeaker, undertook to rectify his maſter's judgment with regard to his liberalities, objecting particularly to the large grants he had made the conſtable Don Nugno Alvarez de Pereyra. He further obſerved, that the conſtable had not turned theſe to his own advantage; but had exerciſed the ſame royal generoſity towards the gentlemen who had ſerved under him: by which means he was in a manner maſter of the provinces of Alentejo and Algarve. He concluded, that the king had already ſeveral children, and was likely to have more, and that a competency was at leaſt due to them, as well as power and magnificence to the conſtable. Moved by theſe perſuaſions, the king publiſhed an edict for reſuming upon certain terms the grants he had made in the time of his

[i] Fernando de Menezez, Ferreras. [k] Fernam Lopez, Mariana, Faria y Souſa, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

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neceſſity [l]. The conſtable who found himſelf exceedingly embarraſſed and aggrieved by this edict, came to court, and expoſtulated the matter with the king, who, on account of their ancient friendſhip, heard him patiently; but told him it was impoſſible for him to retract his edict. The conſtable upon this declaration went down to his government, and putting his affairs into the beſt order he was able, ſignified an intention of leaving the kingdom. At this intimation the king was equally alarmed and diſpleaſed: he ſent therefore ſeveral eccleſiaſtics to diſſuade him from that reſolution; but without effect: for the conſtable's high ſpirit could not brook what he underſtood to be an act of injuſtice. The king thereupon ſent him orders to come to court; and when he came, took him alone into his cloſet, where he explained to him the true motives of his conduct. The conſtable came out from this conference perfectly ſatisfied; and the edict was executed without any farther diſputes. It ſeems the king intending his natural ſon Don Alonſo, who was his great favourite, for the conſtable's only daughter, he was unwilling that his eſtabliſhment ſhould appear more conſiderable than that of his lawful children; and as ſoon as the conſtable perceived that what he did was not at all the effect of any coldneſs or diſregard, but was in itſelf highly reaſonable, he came at once into his maſter's meaſures. A.D. 1395.

Don Denis makes an irruption into Portugal, and aſſumes the title of king.

All this time the jealouſies and heart-burnings between the Caſtilians and Portugueſe ſtill remained, and the fire of war lay ſmothered under its embers. The king of Portugal, under pretence that the articles of the laſt convention between them had not been well obſerved, ſurprized the town of Badajoz, and made an attempt upon that of Albuquerque, a place of ſtrength and importance. Don Henry of Caſtile reſented this inſult, upon which the war flamed out afreſh, and the conſtable of Portugal made an irruption into Caſtile [m]. But while king John meditated ſomething of greater conſequence, he was not a little ſurprized at the news that Vaſco da Cunha, Ferdinand Pacheco, and Juan Alonſo Pimentel, were retired into Caſtile, and had prevailed on ſeveral conſiderable places in his dominions to revolt. At this time his troops were employed in Galicia, where they had once more taken the city of Tuy; and the conſtable was there in or-

[l] Lequien de la Neufville.

[m] Ant. Vaſconcellos, Fernam Lopez.

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der to fortify and put it into a proper ſtate of defence[n]. In ſome ſmall ſpace the meaning of this defection appeared; for Don Denis of Portugal, aſſiſted by a conſiderable body of Caſtilian troops, advanced to Bragança, and having joined the malcontents, aſſumed the title of king[o]. But the conſtable marching with all his forces on one ſide, and the king aſſembling an army at Porto on the other, Don Denis was adviſed by his friends to lay aſide the royal title, and to withdraw with as much privacy as poſſible into Caſtile. His retreat did not put an end to the war, which was very injurious to the ſubjects of both crowns by land and ſea, without turning in any degree to the benefit of either. This conſideration made both princes willing to liſten to a negotiation; plenipotentiaries were appointed on both ſides, and though they ſeparated without coming to any concluſion, yet they met again ſoon after, and agreed upon a truce for ten years, on very equal terms. The king of Caſtile dying not long after, Donna Catalina, the Engliſh queen, having the tuition of her ſon Don Juan the Second, cauſed the truce to be converted into a peace; and ſoon after demanded aſſiſtance of the king of Portugal againſt the Moors, which he not only granted, but offered, as her ſon was under age, to command the army of Caſtile in perſon; an offer which the queen's council, however, adviſed her to decline, on a narrow principle of jealouſy.

A D. 1400.

By what maxims king John governed his dominions in time of peace.

By this obliging behaviour towards the crown of Caſtile, a great check was given to thoſe animoſities that had ſo long diſturbed both nations, and the king was left at leiſure to proſecute his political views for the good of his ſubjects. As he had been once a private man, and never had any degree of pride, he preſerved the ſame familiarity with all perſons of condition that he had been accuſtomed to in his youth. His nobility dined at his table; he frequently made viſits; and when he granted an audience, commonly attended the perſon with whom he had been ſpeaking, to the door of his apartment. His generoſity made him poor. But with all this condeſcenſion he was very much a king, ſevere upon proper occaſions, and inflexible when he found this rigour neceſſary. He obſerved that many of the nobility had bravos about their perſons, men recommended by the wicked actions they had performed. He made an edict againſt this cuſ-

[n] Eſtevan de Garibay, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet, y Souſa, Lequien de la Neufville.

[o] Faria

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tom, and took care that it should be executed so punctually, that these sort of people were rooted out. He suffered no office to be sold of any kind, nor would prefer from any other motive than merit. He moderated the imposts; was a true friend to industry; and encouraged his subjects to pursue it from his own example. When his revenues increased, he indemnified those from whom he had taken grants; and his inclination to justice was so well known, that those who suffered imputed it to his necessity and not to his will. He did not affect amusements or spectacles, but was wont to say, that conversation was of all diversions the cheapest, and improved the most [p]. He introduced, by his own example, the love of letters, and a true taste amongst his courtiers.

Death of queen Philippa, and great regret of her subjects for their loss.

The king had more than once shewn an inclination to confer the honour of knighthood upon his sons; but the young princes made a scruple of accepting that honour in a time of full peace; and the king, with much more reason, made a scruple of entering into a war, merely to make knights. At length, however, he ordered military preparations by land and sea, which alarmed all his neighbours. He confided his secret to none but the prince against whom these preparations were pretended to be made, and this was the count of Flanders, who he gave out had injured his subjects in their trade, and on whose dominions he proposed to make a descent. The count being previously informed that his real intention was against the Moors in Africa, took the proper measures on his side to keep up the farce. At length, every thing being ready for the intended expedition, in which the king proposed to command in person, he appointed the grand-master of the order of Christ, viceroy in his absence; and then communicated the whole scheme and intention of his voyage to the queen, to whom before he would never reveal the secret [q]. She pressed him earnestly to lay aside the thoughts of going in his own person; and would certainly have prevailed if the princes had not as earnestly laboured to keep him to his first resolution. The apprehension of his absence, however, affected the queen so much that she fell suddenly ill, and her malady proved so violent, that in a few days she died, to the extreme regret of the king, and of the whole court [r]. A.D. 1414.

[p] Fernando de Menezez, Fernam Lopez, le Clede, Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville. [q] Fernam Lopez. [r] Faria y Sousa, Ferreras, Lequien de la Neufville.

The

Don John's glorious expedition into Barbary, and reduction of the fortress of Ceuta.

The fleet assembled for this enterprize consisted of fifty-nine gallies, thirty-three tall ships of war, and one hundred and twenty transports, carrying in the whole fifty thousand soldiers and seamen. The rendezvous was appointed in Lagos bay, where the bull of Croisade was published, and from thence the king passed through the streight, steering directly for the port of Ceuta. On the 14th of August they discovered the place, and on the 21st they began to land the troops, with the infants Don Henry and Don Pedro at their head. The Moorish governor, Sala Bensala, had made very great preparations for the siege, which he had long feared, and had brought a considerable number of auxiliaries into the place; but as there happened a great storm while the Christian fleet was at sea, those auxiliaries would stay no longer. The attack was presently made, and with great fury, in which the infants Edward, Henry, and Pedro had an equal share of danger and of honour; at length, with some effusion of blood, the town was taken, and the enemy retired into the castle [s]. The king caused that fortress also to be attacked, and Sala perceiving that he had no relief to expect, after having stood one assault, retired in the night and left the Portuguese masters of the place [t]. The king having caused the fortifications to be repaired, and the mosque to be purified, left a good garrison under the command of Don Pedro de Meneses, count of Alcontin; and having reimbarked the rest of his troops on the 2d of September, returned safely into Portugal. Having reviewed his army at Tavira, and rewarded the several persons who had distinguished themselves in his service, he declared the infant Don Henry, duke of Viseo, and gave the title of duke of Coimbra to the infant Don Pedro [u]. This year he abolished the æra of Augustus, which had been before abolished in Arragon in 1350, and in Castile in 1383. The princes of Barbary immediately formed a league for the recovery of Ceuta, which obliged the king of Portugal to send back the infants Don Henry and Don Pedro with a considerable force, who found greater difficulty in relieving than they had done in acquiring the place. At length, however, they accomplished their aim, after defeating the infidels both by land and sea; which success proved fatal to Abu-sade, king of Fez, upon whom the

[s] Faria y Sousa, Fernam Lopez, Mayerne Turquet. [t] Louis del Marmol, Ferreras, le Clede. [u] Lequien de la Neufville.

Moors

Moors had laid the blame of this loss; in resentment of which, his subjects conspired against and murthered him; upon which so great troubles ensued, that they had no king for eight years. But by what right, unless there subsisted a continual war with the Moors in Barbary, this conquest was made, does not at all appear.

After all the reputation resulting from the success of the king's arms in Africa, some of his ministers, for he allowed every man to speak his mind freely, made it a question in his council, whether it was for the king's advantage to keep this new conquest, or whether all the benefits proposed from it might not be obtained by demolishing the city and fortress, and the great expence saved which a garrison constantly kept there would necessarily require; besides the much larger disbursements that would from time to time become necessary for the embarkation of armies, as often as the Moors should be disposed to besiege it? On the other hand, it was urged that the keeping of Ceuta was of common benefit to all Spain, as it divided the Moors from the Moors, and facilitated the reduction of the kingdom of Granada. It was alleged, that the Moors, as infidels and aggressors in the conquest of Spain, were to be considered as hereditary and perpetual enemies, against whose descents and incursions, as well as pyracies by sea, it was absolutely necessary to take the best precautions possible, than which there was none comparable to the keeping the castle, town, and port of Ceuta. It was added in reference to the great charge it entailed upon the kingdom, that it might be lessened by various means; that the pope would undoubtedly oblige the clergy to contribute to it; that the garrison might serve as a kind of school for the military orders, and subsist in some measure at their expence; and that very probably, if the king enlarged his conquest on that side, he might find means to draw a considerable part of their subsistance from the inhabitants of the conquered country. King John, having thoroughly weighed the arguments offered on both sides, determined to keep Ceuta; and gave orders for enlarging and augmenting the fortifications, as well as for forming an intrenched camp under them. He augmented his forces there to six thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; which he judged sufficient to deprive the Moors of all hopes of recovering it. He likewise addressed himself to the pope for the assistance proposed, and procured from him all that he demanded[w]. By these

Some of his council are, however, desirous that he should slight and demolish it.

A.D. 1419.

[w] Fernam Lopez, Fernando de Menezez, le Clede.

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means he struck a great terror into the infidels, which lasted all his reign.

The king victorious in war, happy in his family, and well obeyed by his clergy.

It often happens in other countries, and it more than once happened in this, that princes grown to men's estate become impatient of obeying, and from a too high estimation of their own abilities, through false ambition, or excited by pernicious counsels from others, disturbed the government they were bound by nature, as well as duty and interest to support. In all other things fortunate, king John was most fortunate in this. He had many sons, whom he saw men, men of parts and men of action; but men who had no emulation, save that of shewing their affection to his person, which they manifested by employing all their abilities in the support of his administration. This attachment was in a great measure due to the care he had taken in their education, and the pains with which he himself had instructed them in solid and useful knowledge. Henry, duke of Viseo, had the direction of affairs in Africa, and his father procured him the best appointments in his power; these he employed as if they were only intrusted with him for the public advantage. He it was, that set on foot those discoveries which proved so beneficial afterwards, not to Portugal only, but to all Europe. The first fruits of them was the settling and possessing the island of Madeira, which very soon yielded a considerable revenue. He it was, who taking notice of a small but secure post in the kingdom of Algarve, about a league and a half distant from Cape Vincent, caused a town to be erected there, which is allowed to be the best laid out and fortified of any in Portugal: this is called Sagrez; and some think we may trace therein somewhat of the ancient name of the Cape, which was called in Latin Promontorium Sacrum. It was here that he erected his magazines, built and laid up his ships that were continually employed in useful enterprizes[x]. But this spirit of improvement in the king and his sons, though it laid the foundation of future emoluments, produced for the present a great want of money. In this case the king had again recourse to the clergy, and desired their consent to coin the church-plate. These men, who had disturbed almost every other reign, had the good sense in his to be as tractable as any of his subjects. They owned there was nothing more reasonable than that a prince who had exhausted his own coffers in a war against the infidels, should be supported out of the treasures of the church.

x Manuel Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville, Mariana Mayerne, Turquet.

They

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They gave a farther inſtance of their good temper: the pope had been informed, that the king, like ſome of his predeceſſors, had brought eccleſiaſtics before lay tribunals, and had in other reſpects invaded what was ſtyled the immunities of the church. He directed ſome prelates to enquire into the king's conduct in this reſpect; inſinuating, that he would proceed very rigorouſly if he ſaw cauſe. But thoſe prelates reported that there was none. They knew the king's intentions were good: they ſaw that juſtice was ſtrictly and impartially adminiſtered amongſt all ranks of people; and they were afraid of ſeeing a ſcandalous clergy in a well-ordered kingdom, which induced them to act as they did; for which moderation the king made them very grateful returns[y]. In this reſpect king John had viſibly the advantage of all his predeceſſors, who found it much eaſier to deal with the Moors than with their clergy.

He takes no advantages of the factions or diſturbances in the kingdom of Caſtile.

As during his long reign there happened many turns, and great diſtractions in Caſtile, he might, if he had been an unjuſt and ambitious prince, have fomented their diſturbances, and have drawn their malcontents to depend upon him. But he meddled no farther in theſe matters than was neceſſary to preſerve the quiet of his own dominions; and if he gave ſhelter at any time to the diſcontented nobility, he gave them at the ſame time honeſt advice, and interpoſed his good offices to prevent things from coming to extremities. He interpoſed to prevent a war between the crown of Caſtile on the one ſide and thoſe of Arragon and Navarre on the other. The latter offered to leave all diſputes to his arbitration, and afterwards clapped up a peace without his knowledge, a ſtep which he reſented. The king of Caſtile ſent an ambaſſy to him to complain of his ſupporting the infants, who were inclined to diſturb the peace of his kingdom. King John anſwered, it was true that he had given ſhelter to thoſe princes, becauſe they were princes: but he immediately publiſhed a proclamation forbidding any of his ſubjects taking any ſhare in their quarrels. The king of Caſtile was thoroughly ſatisfied of the rectitude of his intentions, and expreſſed that ſatisfaction in the cleareſt terms and in the moſt public manner[z].

y Fernam Lopez, le Clede, Rainald. z Fernando de Menezez, Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria, Juan de Mena, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

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Death of king John, which is entirely regretted by all ranks of his subjects.

The king's last cares were about the settlement of his family: he married prince Edward, the heir apparent of his dominions, to the infanta Leonora, the daughter of Don Ferdinand of Arragon, with whom he received two hundred thousand florins of gold, which in those days was an immense sum. This marriage was negociated by Don Pedro de Norogna, archbishop of Lisbon, and was highly acceptable to his subjects. The next year he gave his daughter Donna Isabella to Philip the second, duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good; and it was at the solemnity of this marriage that prince instituted the famous order of the Golden Fleece[a]. The infant Don Pedro had before married Donna Isabella of Arragon, daughter of the count of Urgel. His younger brother, the infant Don Juan, espoused Donna Isabella of Portugal, the daughter of his natural brother Don Alonso, by the heiress of the constable[b]. The death of that great man Nugno Alvarez de Pereyra, after he had led a life of retirement and devotion for nine years, proved a great affliction to the king, and a prologue to his own[c]. He was very sensible of his declining state, though he took care to hide it as much as possible, that he might not alarm either his subjects or his family. When he was seized with his last illness, he sent for the prince, and admonished him to be careful of religion, justice, and the morals of his people. He then sent for the rest of his children, and exhorted them to unanimity, testified great piety and resignation in his last moments, and submitted to fate on the 11th of August, 1433, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and in the forty-eighth of his reign, extremely regretted by his subjects and by his children; but they were not able to give immediately such marks of this, as they would otherwise have done in his funeral, because the plague raged at Lisbon; and it seems probable that himself and his queen Philippa both died of that distemper.

A.D.1428.

A.D.1431.

He gave for his device, a rock in the midst of the sea, and a hand from the clouds thrusting a sword into it, with these words, Acuit ut penetret, i. e. *Sharpened that it may pierce.* By which he intended to intimate, the be-

[a] Joa. Jac. Chiffet Insig. Equit. Ord. Velleris Aurei. Jacques Marchant, liv. 3. Hist. de Flan. Le Mire Orig. Ord. Equest. lib. i. cap. i. Favin en son Theatre d'honneur & de Chevalerie, Spondanus ad annum. 1430. Faria y Sousa, Esteven de Garibay, lib. xxxv. cap. vii. [b] Fernam Perez de Guzman, Zurita Annal. Arragon, Fernam Lopez, Ferreras. [c] Faria y Sousa.

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ing in continual action was the only way to be ready to seize an opportunity, or to avert a danger. His conduct was a good commentary upon it; for no prince applied himself more assiduously than he through his whole reign, none struggled through greater difficulties with more honour, and none knew better how to accommodate himself to all situations, how to chuse the properest methods for accomplishing his ends, or how by a dextrous management of circumstances to avert mischief (B). He was unquestionably one of the most fortunate princes that ever reigned in Portugal, or perhaps in any other country: he established himself firmly upon the throne, though he had but a very dubious title: he outlived all his competitors, and secured the possession of it to his posterity: he allied his family so wisely by marriage, that he rendered it the interest of almost every crowned head in Europe to assist and protect them. His virtues were scarce of greater utility than what seemed to be weaknesses in him; for his liberality, which some thought to be profusion, by dispersing the crown lands into a great number of families, attached four-fifths of the nation to his succession, since, by supporting that, they secured the titles of their own estates.

Some remarks on the conduct of this monarch, and the advantages arising from his administration.

Don Edward, the eldest son of the deceased king, was immediately proclaimed his successor, and complimented as such by the princes of the blood, and the nobility then at court[d]. It is reported, that a Jew physician very earnestly dissuaded the king from accepting the homage of his subjects that day, because he knew, as he said, from his skill in astrology, that the stars were not favourable. Edward, who was near forty-two years of age, a prince of great good sense, and exemplary piety, despised this prediction[e]. He went afterwards to Cintra, to spend some time in rural diversions, in order to amuse his melancholy, or as others

Edward succeeds his father, and is proclaimed king of Portugal at Lisbon.

[d] Manuel Faria y Sousa, Ferreras. [e] Mayerne, Turquet.

(B) This great prince, whom the Portuguese historians consider as the founder of a new family, had a very pleasing aspect, and was very handsome in his person, of which, however, we have no particular description. His helmet and his battle-axe are still preserved, which shew that he was of a very large size, and of a prodigious strength. In dress and in diet he was very plain, loved mirth and freedom at his meals, and was naturally of a lively chearful disposition, yet not given to any kind of excess.

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say, he only gave this out, being obliged to fly thither from the plague[f]. About the time of the anniversary of his father's death, he resolved to cause his body to be removed to a
A.D.1434. monastery of his own erecting, where it was to be interred. There was never any ceremony of this kind executed with greater pomp in Portugal. The journey was divided into five stages, and at each of them the corps was received by one of the infants, attended by a large body of the nobility and gentry, and there was scarce a person of distinction in Portugal absent when the body was interred. Such was the duty of his children, and such the affection of his subjects to king John.

Is drawn into a project for reducing Tangier, and extending his conquests in Barbary.

As soon as these last honours were paid to the memory of that great prince, king Edward went to Leyria, and from thence to Santaren, where he held an assembly of the states, in which he produced a code of laws, collected and digested under proper heads by his own order, that there might be but one rule of right through the whole kingdom; whereas, under pretence of their ancient customs, the law had almost been different in every one of the provinces. He also proposed another law, for suppressing luxury in dress and in diet, which it seems was become highly necessary. The king, being desirous of signalizing his reign by extending his conquests in Africa, cast his eyes upon Tangier. His council agreed, that it was a place of consequence, the reduction of which would add lustre to his arms, though they could not agree about the properest manner of reducing it. The infant Don Juan, grand-master of the order of St. James, gave it as his opinion, that if the king made an expedition on that side, it should be with a numerous fleet, and a strong army, since otherwise his own, and the reputation of the crown might receive a check not easy to be recovered. But the infant Don Ferdinand, grand-master of Avis, treated the affair in another manner, magnified the military skill and courage of the Portuguese; and put the king in mind of the ease with which his father had made him-
A.D.1436. self master of Ceuta. The king, whose coffers were not very full, listened to this advice, notwithstanding all that Don Juan could say; so that the army was fixed at fourteen thousand men, with a proportionable fleet: and this resolution taken, the conquest of Tangier was looked upon as a thing in a manner accomplished [g].

[f] Lequien de la Neufville.

[g] Ant. Vasconcellos, Garibay.

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The army for this expedition being assembled, and the fleet for their embarkation being prepared, the infants Henry and Ferdinand embarked on the 22d day of August, and arrived, after a favourable navigation, at Ceuta. When they came to review their forces they discovered to their great astonishment, that instead of fourteen thousand, they had scarce seven thousand men [h]. Some of the principal officers gave it as their opinion, that the fleet ought to be sent back for a supply of troops before they undertook any thing: but the infants, esteeming it equally hazardous to allow the enemy so much time to repair, or to undertake any thing with so small a force, resolved at last to proceed. Accordingly the infant Don Henry marched with the best part of the forces by land, and Don Ferdinand with the rest proceeded by sea for Tangier, the siege of which they began on the 15th of September. The Moors were extremely alarmed at this attempt, and immediately set on foot a general confederacy for the preservation of the place. The king of Fez, at the head of a numerous army, marched to the relief of Tangier, and before the siege was far advanced, attacked the besiegers in their trenches. It is true they made a gallant defence, and the Moors were repulsed, nevertheless they made a proper use of their superiority by investing the besiegers, who finding themselves shut up between the fortress and the army, were constrained to send some of the principal persons amongst them to capitulate with the king of Fez; and to offer him the restitution of Ceuta, if he would permit the remains of the army to embark for Portugal. The king readily listened to this proposition, and offered to give them hostages for the due performance of the articles; but he demanded in return, that one of the infants should remain as a hostage for the restoring of Ceuta: upon which Don Ferdinand readily offered himself, and was accepted; and Don Henry, and as many of the Portuguese as were left, embarked on board the fleet, and returned to Ceuta [i]. There he fell sick, but sent the fleet back to Portugal; which meeting with a great storm in its passage, several vessels were wrecked on the coasts of Andalusia, where the people were received and relieved by the subjects of the king of Castile, not only with great kindness and humanity, but with such chearful generosity,

The unfortunate issue of that famous expedition, tho' conducted by the infants.

A.D. 1437

[h] Manuel Faria y Sousa Africa Portuguesa. [i] Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede, Mariana, Ant. Vasconcellos, Ferreras Historia de Espana, part ix. § xv.

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as is very honourably recorded, and very highly commended by the Portuguese historians [k].

Pains taken by the infant Don Henry to save the remains of the Christian forces.

After the departure of the fleet the king either suspected, or was informed, that the force sent to Barbary was inferior to what had been proposed; he therefore equipped with all imaginable diligence a strong squadron, with a considerable body of fresh troops on board, commanded by his brother the infant Don Juan, which arrived safely in the harbour of Ceuta. The sight of this squadron and these troops contributed not a little to the recovery of the infant Don Henry; who having changed the garrison, augmented the fortifications, and filled the magazines of the place, directed his brother to return with the invalids, and such as had been able to recover the garrison since their misfortune at Tangier: but the king was still dissatisfied, and therefore sent a positive order to the infant Don Henry to return likewise. However, he would not go to Lisbon; but retired to his own town of Sagrez, in Algarve [l], being so much ashamed of his defeat, that he declared he was unwilling to look the king in the face. It was given out, that the infidels had broke their capitulation by attacking the infant on his march to the ships; by which conduct it was pretended they had forfeited their right to Ceuta; and it is not at all unlikely the infant Don Henry did not care to declare any thing to this purpose himself [m]. In all other respects his conduct was irreproachable.

Don Ferdinand of Portugal left as a hostage, and abandoned to the mercy of the Moors.

The king held a great council to decide this delicate question, whether they should part with the noblest monument of their father's glory, or sacrifice the infant Don Ferdinand, the son and brother of their kings? one would have imagined that even a meaner victim would not have been offered, since in reality a hostage is rather the witness of a contract than an equivalent for the execution of it; since if it was otherwise, no man would become, no nation would accept an hostage. The council of Portugal determined otherwise, after having had the advice, as it is said, of the pope; but it was agreed, the intercession of many princes should be used, and large sums of money offered for the ransom of Don Ferdinand; and in case the infidels continued to with-hold him, then the pope was to publish a crusade for his deliverance. In short,

[k] Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias de Portuguesas. [l] Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede. [m] Ant. Vasconcellos, Le Clede. Mayerne T

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his liberty was to be procured in any way except by the reſtitution of Ceuta. The kings of Caſtile and Granada interpoſed warmly and ſincerely; but without effect. The Moors would never part with the prince, whom they had received as a pledge of the faith of Chriſtians, and whom they retained as a proof how well it had been kept [n]. He ſupported his captivity with the moſt heroic courage, which gained him the eſteem and admiration of the Moors, amongſt whom he remained to his death. He is conſidered for this reaſon as a ſaint and a martyr in Portugal. How much ſoever he may deſerve on the ſcore of his patience and ſufferings for other people's faults, there is ſurely very little excuſe to be made for thoſe who adviſed, or rather compelled the king to abandon him, and to break faith, and give up a brother, rather than part with a fortreſs to the infidels, which had been taken from them by the valour of the Portugueſe, and by their valour no doubt might have been recovered again at a more proper time.

The method taken by advice of the chancellor Regras, to reſume crown-lands.

As the misfortunes attending this unlucky expedition increaſed the miſeries of the kingdom, which were already but too great, and as the royal revenue had never recovered, notwithſtanding the edict of the late king, the repeated blows, given it by his liberality, Edward found himſelf under a neceſſity of taking ſome ſtrong ſtep or other to reſtore his finances. Under this dilemma he applied himſelf to the chancellor Regras, his father's counſellor, who was deſervedly famous for his inexhauſtible fund of expedients. He did not deceive his confidence upon this occaſion; but ſuggeſted to him a method which anſwered very effectually in Portugal, though it may be very juſtly doubted whether it would have done ſo any where elſe. He engaged the king to declare, that in a converſation he had with his father upon his death-bed, that monarch informed him his real intention in all his grants was, that lands ſhould deſcend from father to ſon as a reward for paſt, and an encouragement to future ſervices; but that the crown-lands ſhould by no means deſcend to females. By this ſcheme a plain way was opened for all the royal domain that had been alienated to revert to the crown: a thing juſt and reaſonable in itſelf, and to which the people ſubmitted without murmuring; though beſides the many inconveniencies that attended it, and the heavy loſſes ſuſtained by individuals, there was a precedent introduced

[n] Fernan Perez de Guzman, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

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big with conſequences beyond the power of the human underſtanding to conceive. It is remarkable that the chancellor Regras himſelf, whoſe eſtate was derived from the bounty of his maſter, had only daughters, but the king granted him a diſpenſation. To accelerate as much as poſſible the filling of his treaſury the king reduced his expences within a very narrow compaſs; and the people, moved by his example, and perſuaded of the uprightneſs of his intentions, ſubmitted patiently to a reſumption which nothing but neceſſity could juſtify *. Their moderation was attended with good effects.

Unexpected and deplorable death of king Edward, of the plague.

In the mean time great preparations were making by land and ſea for carrying on the war againſt the Moors, in conſequence of the pope's bulls, and of the ſpirit the whole nation expreſſed to leave no means uneſſayed for obtaining the liberty of the infant Don Ferdinand. But when things were very far advanced, and when the proper meaſures had been taken for aſſembling a numerous fleet and a potent army, Providence interpoſed, and overturned the whole, by a blow ſo much the more afflicting as it was altogether unexpected. The plague ſtill continued at Liſbon and in the country adjacent: the king, to avoid the infection, retired into Eſtramadura, and fixed his reſidence for a ſhort time at Tomar; where, upon opening a letter, he was ſuddenly ſeized with the diſtemper, and expired the 9th of September, 1438, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, and when he had reigned five years and almoſt a month (C). He is allowed by the Portugueſe

A.D. 1438.

* Faria y Souſa, Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede.

(C) The perſon of king Edward was altogether graceful and majeſtic; he was of a middle ſize, well ſhaped, round faced, his hair black, his eyes full, and his beard thin. He was remarkably ſtrong and active; the very beſt horſeman of his time, could take a nut from the ground on full ſpeed, and parry a javelin or a ſpear without ſhield or weapon by the adroit motion of his body. However authors differ as to the repreſentation of king Edward's reign, they all agree in ſpeaking of him as one of the wiſeſt and worthieſt monarchs of that age. He loved ſplendor and magnificence, but he confined this to proper occaſions. He was ſincerely pious, without bigotry, and the moſt eloquent man in his dominions. If he had reigned longer he would have done more; but in the few years he did reign, he was the author of great good to Portugal, for he reduced the laws within compaſs, and brought them into order. He made a thorough regulation of the

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tugueſe writers to have been a religious, prudent, and learned prince. He ſpoke the Latin tongue fluently, and wrote it elegantly. He wrote ſeveral books, and particularly two, one entitled, The Good Counſellor, which he dedicated to his queen, and which conſiſted of moral and political reflections; the other on the art of breaking and managing horſes, which he is ſaid to have underſtood beyond any man of his time [p]. By his will he appointed the queen Donna Leonora regent during the minority of the prince, his ſon; and directed that the money he had ſaved might be applied to the ranſom of his brother; and that if his liberty could not that way be obtained, then Ceuta ſhould be reſtored to the Moors, which he affirmed to have been always his own deſire and intention [q]. He gave for his device a ſpear inveſted with a ſerpent, with theſe words Loco et tempore, that is, *In fit place and time* [r]. His death was deeply and juſtly regretted by his ſubjects, as it happened at a very critical conjuncture, diſſipated all thoughts of proſecuting the war, and left a child upon the throne, under the tuition of a mother, who quickly found that the title of a queen could not exempt her from the cares and misfortunes incident to human life.

Acceſſion of Don Alonſo V. under the tuition of his mother, who is ſoon deprived of the regency.

As much as the queen appeared to have been the darling of the people during the life-time of her huſband, yet he was ſcarce interred before they conceived and publiſhed a diſguſt, to which they were encouraged by the infant Don Juan. All they had to allege was what the queen knew too well, and what it was not in her power to help, that ſhe was a ſtranger and a woman. They added alſo, that ſhe was a Caſtilian: which was in one ſenſe true, for ſhe was a princeſs of that royal family. In this ſituation it was requiſite for her to look round for ſupport; and there appeared none from whom ſhe could ſo naturally demand it as the infant Don Pedro, duke of Coimbra, a

p Eſtevan de Garibay, Duard Genealogie des Reis de Portugal, Mariana Hiſt Hiſpan. lib. xx. cap xvi. and lib. xxi. cap. xiii. Ant. Vaſconcellos, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. q Faria y Souſa. r Lequien de la Neufville Hiſtoire generale de Portugal, tom. i p. 404.

the coin by fixing both the ſtandard and the ſpecies. He did the like with regard to the revenue, ſo that the ordinary income exceeded conſiderably the expence; and he drew, by his favour and liberalities, ſome of the moſt eminent perſons in Europe for knowledge to Liſbon (1).

(1) Vaſconcellos, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, Faria y Souſa.

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prince of great abilities, and unblemished reputation (D). To bind him the closer to her interest she told him, that the late king, his brother, had left a note in the hands of his confessor, by which he directed that his son and successor, Don Alonso the Fifth, should espouse the daughter of that prince. Don Pedro expressed in the strongest terms his respect for his brother's memory, and his attachment to her service [s]. Her affairs rendering it absolutely necessary, an assembly of the states was called at Torres Novas, where, contrary to the queen's expectations, they intrusted her only with the education of the king, her son, appointed Don Pedro to have the direction of all military concerns, the marquis de Villavicioſa president of justice, and the count de Atouguia governor to the king [t]. The queen was extremely offended with this regulation, and entered into cabals through the archbishop of Lisbon, who was her minister, with Don Alonso count of Barcelos, natural son to king John, and the infant Don Juan, that king's lawful son, who had married the count's daughter, the first who disturbed her administration, and who now fought to be reconciled to her, in hopes of marrying the king to his daughter. The states, desirous of cutting these factions
A.D. 1440. up by the roots, declared Don Pedro regent, and made other necessary regulations [u]. The queen, however, took

[s] Ant. Vasconcellos, Estevan de Garibay, Mayerne, Turquet. [t] Faria y Sousa, Garibay, Ferreras. [u] Lequien de la Neuf-ville, Le Clede.

(D) This Don Pedro of Portugal was the fourth child, and second surviving son of king John, and was born March the 4th, 1394. His father gave him an excellent education, which, joined to strong natural abilities and much application, rendered him one of the most accomplished princs of his time. He was not only very learned himself, but a great lover of learning, and a great patron of learned men. It was chiefly with a view to improve his knowlege that he spent four years in travelling through different countries in Europe, Asia, and Africa, with a train suitable to his quality; of which travels there is a relation still extant, but so loaded with fabulous circumstances, that it wounds the reputation it was designed to raise. At his return he espoused Isabella, daughter to the count of Urgel, and grand-daughter to Don Pedro, the fourth king of Portugal, which was esteemed a very great advancement of his fortune. He was elected into the most noble order of the Garter April the 22d, 1417, in the fifth year of the reign of his cousin Henry the Fifth, grandson of John of Gaunt, by the father's side, as our duke of Coimbra was by the mother.

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no notice of these; but bestowed places, and directed all things as if she had been sovereign in her own right; in which conduct Don Pedro gave her no disturbance. He only desired she would give him the paper she had mentioned, and the queen did so: with which when her new allies were acquainted, they insisted she should take it from him. Upon this the count de Ourem, son to the count de Barcelos, went to Don Pedro, and desired to see it. The infant very calmly took it out of his cabinet, tore it, and put the pieces into his hands. As they believed themselves now entirely safe from him, they put so many slights upon him daily, that he retired from court. The people obliged him to return; and though the king of Arragon sent an ambassador to support the queen, she was obliged to deliver up her children to the regent, of whom she took leave by saying, that she was now completely a widow, without husband, and without children. She retired to Alenquer, full of resentment [x], and of projects for executing revenge.

Don Pedro governs the kingdom with the title of regent, and with great reputation.

The administration of Don Pedro was so mild and so just, that the magistrates and people of Lisbon concurred in demanding his leave to erect a statue to him. The regent thanked them, said he should be unwilling to see a work of their's, demolished; and that he was sufficiently rewarded by this public testimony of their affections. The queen having desired that her daughter might come to her at Alenquer, retired from thence into the estates of the prior of Crato, and by his assistance raised an insurrection. The regent marched immediately to suppress it: upon which the queen retired into Castile, and the prior submitted [y]. The count de Barcelos seized Guimaraez, and fortified it: upon which the regent marched against him, having his son the count de Ourem in the army. When he arrived before the place, the count de Barcelos sent him a message, that he would do well not to expose the king's troops, for that he was determined to live and die the queen's faithful servant, and had those with him who would behave gallantly in so good a cause. The count of Ourem desired the regent's leave to go and speak to his father. "If he is your father, said the regent, he is also "my brother; go, and behave like a nephew and a son." The two counts understood one another very well: the matter was soon settled between them, and the count of

A.D. 1443.

[x] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Estevan de Garibay, Rainald, Ant. Vasconcellos, Ferreras, Mariana. [y] Faria y Sousa.

Barcelos

Barcelo, submitted [a]. About this time the infant Don Ferdinand died in his captivity; and his chaplain, who was the companion, wrote also the history of his imprisonment.

Deplorable death of Donna Leonora, queen dowager of Portugal, in Castile.

The regent having obtained the pope's dispensation called an assembly of the states, and with their consent contracted the king to his daughter. The queen Donna Leonora had engaged the king of Castile to send two embassies to demand she should be restored to the regency. Don Pedro answered, that it was not in his power, but that he had all the respect and veneration for the queen imaginable; that he even doubted whether her return into Portugal would be at all for her interest, but that he would take care to pay her regularly her dowry [a]. This poor princess, breathing nothing but vengeance, laboured to persuade the king of Castile to declare war against Portugal, assuring him such a step would throw that kingdom into the utmost confusion. In order to prevent expence from being any bar to this project, she and those who retired with her gave him all the money, jewels, and effects they had brought with them, which he very readily received, without making the return that she expected [b]. In this dismal and distressed condition, without means of supporting herself in the manner she had hitherto done, she at length took a short turn, and wrote to the regent, giving him a plain and sincere account of the measures she had pursued, and of the circumstances to which she was reduced, beseeching him to let her come and live in Portugal, in any manner he judged expedient, and bitterly bewailing that she had been the dupe of those who envied the just credit of so great and good a man. But before the regent had time to express what his compassion would have naturally dictated, death, assisted as is supposed by Don Alvaro de Luna, put a period to the poor queen's troubles; for that ambitious minister perceiving that Donna Maria, queen of Castile, and this princess, had great influence over the king, and were by no means disposed to be his creatures, judged it proper to remove them out of the way, that he might have no competitors in his master's favour. The regent having obtained a bull from the pope, which confirmed the separation of the orders of St. James and Avis from the order of Calatrava in Castile, published it to the great satisfaction of the Portuguese nation.

A. D. 1445.

[a] Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede. [a] Faria y Sousa, Le Cledé. [b] Fernam Perez de Guzman. Lequien de la Neufville, Ferreras.

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The steadiness of the regent's administration; the attachment of the best part of the nobility to him; and his enjoying, in so absolute a degree, the confidence of the people, not only secured the interior tranquility of the state, but raised the credit likewise of the crown of Portugal to a very great height in the sentiments of its neighbours. This appeared by the king of Castile's demanding succours, which were sent under the command of the constable of Portugal, Don Pedro, son to the regent, whom his father had raised to that employment[c], upon the death of his brother the infant Don John. These succours, though they did not arrive till the war was over in which they were to have been employed, were received with all possible testimonies of kindness and respect; more especially by the all-powerful favourite Don Alvaro de Luna, who concluded with Don Pedro, in his master's name, a marriage between him and Donna Isabella, daughter to the infant Don Juan of Portugal, with whom he had always a private correspondence[d]. He took this step, however, not only without the consent, but without so much as consulting his master, whose inclinations carried him another way, and who, though he had not spirit enough to refuse this wife from his minister's hands, resolved notwithstanding to take his life for this act of presumption: what is more extraordinary, this queen concurred in the measure; and not only excited the king to execute, but also contrived the manner of carrying it into execution. Upon the report of this marriage by the constable to his father on his return, it was confirmed, though not celebrated till after the king came to age; as it was on all hands allowed, that this alliance might be very beneficial to Portugal, and prove an effectual means of burying in oblivion the old sources of disputes and discontents that had subsisted between the two nations, and produced a radicated aversion between them, which was equally fatal to both: but experience shewed that, though specious, this reasoning was far enough from being conclusive.

The constable of Portugal sent with a body of troops into Castile.

In the course of his regency the duke of Coimbra had made it his continual study to pursue the public good; to ease the people in general, and the inhabitants of Lisbon in particular, of several grievous impositions; to maintain

Methods taken by the duke of Coimbra for the benefit of the

[c] Manuel Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville, Ferreras.
[d] Cronica de Don Alvaro de Luna, Condestable de Castilla, y de Leon, y Maestre de la Orden, y Cavalleria de Santiago, La Cronica de Espana, por Diego de Valera, Ferreras.

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kingdom, and to appeaſe his enemies.

the laws in their full vigour; to give the king an excellent education; and, if that had been at all practicable, to diffuſe a perfect unanimity through the court, by aſſuaging the malice and envy of his enemies. Upon his firſt reconciliation with his brother Don Alonſo, count of Barcelos, he conſented, that the archbiſhop of Liſbon ſhould have leave to return into the kingdom, who had fled to Rome, on account of the ſhare he had in the firſt diſturbances, and who had been purſued thither by the clamours of the people againſt his morals, which it ſeems were not very edifying[e]. On the death of Don Gonçales, lord of Bragança, he procured it, with the title of duke, for his brother Don Alonſo, as a mark of the ſincerity of their reconciliation on his ſide[f]. But the new duke conſidered it rather as a mark of his abſolute authority, and hated him heartily, not for the ſake of the gift, for that was very acceptable, but for having the power to give; which, with the advice of the archbiſhop, and of his own ſon the count de Ourem, who, under the ſpecious pretence of the warmeſt friend, was the moſt determined foe the regent had, he reſolved to wreſt out of his hand, as ſoon as a favourable opportunity offered: for this purpoſe he began to cabal with ſome of the young lords, who were about the king's perſon, the companions of his exerciſes and diverſions, to whom he repreſented the regent as a man of very ſevere morals, who would never permit them to receive thoſe rewards for their ſervices, which otherwiſe they might eaſily have obtained through the king's favour. In this ſituation the court ſtood when the king drew nigh the age of fourteen; at which time he was to become major, according to the law, or at leaſt cuſtom of Portugal.

On his aſſuming the government into his own hands, the king marries the regent's daughter.

Alonſo the Fifth, afterwards, for his heroic exploits, juſtly ſirnamed the African, was at this time the fineſt youth of his age in Portugal. The regent knew the value of a good education, and the method in which he had received it; he was therefore aſſiduous from the very beginning in procuring this advantage for his nephew. He ſhewed him that pride was a very indifferent ſhield to cover ignorance; and that, to merit the reſpect and deference due to a king, he muſt acquire thoſe qualities that ought to adorn a throne; and that modeſty and affability would ſet a luſtre upon theſe, which oſtentation and ceremony

[e] Faria y Souſa, Le Clede. [f] Lequien de la Neufville, Ferreras. [g] Ant. Vaſconcellos, Eſteven de Garibay, Mariana.

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could never bestow [g]. In the cortes or parliament assembled for that purpose, the regent laid down his office, and rendered an account of the manner in which he had executed it, desiring the king and people's pardon for any errors of which he might have been guilty. Don Alonso behaved upon this occasion in a manner so composed, so gentle, and yet so manly, that it charmed all his subjects. He granted Don Pedro all he asked: the cortes entirely approved his administration, and gave their consent to the king's marriage with Donna Isabella, the regent's daughter, which was now celebrated, and to the request which the king made his father-in-law, that he would continue to assist him with his advice. This was certainly highly reasonable; and the duke of Coimbra governed for about two years in the same manner, and with very near the same degree of power as while the administration remained in his hands with the title of regent [h]. A.D. 1447.

Such as hate Don Pedro combine in ridiculing, calumniating, and betraying him.

His enemies, however, at the head of whom was his own brother, the duke of Bragança, with the archbishop of Lisbon, continued their insidious practices with indefatigable assiduity. They turned the gravity and serious discourses of Don Pedro into ridicule: they grounded malicious suspicions on the high respect paid him by the magistrates of Lisbon, and other great cities; and they brought most of the king's favourites to speak the same language. When they found that the king had no longer that awe and respect which he had formerly expressed for his uncle, they went a little farther, and flattering, the king's parts, insinuated it was high time he should govern his own dominions, and let his subjects see that there was somebody in them greater than the duke of Coimbra. At length they boldly asserted, that he had been guilty of flagrant mal-administration during his regency; that his ambition was exorbitant; and that the king could enjoy only the empty title of sovereignty while he was about his person. The king listened to these stories, and in proportion as he gave credit to them, withdrew his favour and countenance from the duke of Coimbra. But it had been doubted whether he could have been prevailed upon to remove him, if the duke, disgusted with such treatment, had not resolved to withdraw of himself, and with great humility desired the king's leave. This Don Alonso readily gave him, and his back was no sooner turned than his enemies very boldly brought out their whole charge,

[g] Ant. Vasconcellos, Estevan de Garibay, Mariana. [h] Faria y Sousa, le Clede.

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affirming, that he had poiſoned his brother king Edward, queen Leonora, and the infant Don Juan [i]. This accuſation amazed all, but perſuaded very few. The infant Don Henry, duke of Viſeu, came from his own town of Sagrez, to juſtify his brother; but his mouth was ſoon ſtopped, by turning the ſame charge upon him. The principal nobility adhered ſteadily to Don Pedro; and Don Ferdinand, governor of Ceuta, the ſecond ſon of the duke of Bragança, came over from thence to defend his uncle againſt his father; but the moſt extraordinary circumſtance attending this proſecution was the behaviour of Don Alvaro de Almada, count of Abranches, eſteemed the braveſt knight of his time. He came into the king's council completely armed, with his robe thrown over him, and after making a ſhort ſpeech in defence of the regency, he ſtood up, and ſaid, "If any man ſhall preſume to affirm that "Don Pedro, duke of Coimbra, is not a loyal ſervant to "his prince, and a friend to his country, I am ready at "the ſword's point to prove that man a liar and a traitor." The courtiers ſaid, this was inſulting the king; but the king himſelf ſaid, that Don Alvaro had behaved like a true knight and a man of honour [k].

Compelled to take up arms in his own defence, and ſoon after ſlain in battle.

It was the great point of the court, though certainly not of the king, from this period to drive the duke of Coimbra into a rebellion. The firſt ſtep taken was to forbid all the king's ſubjects by an edict to have any correſpondence with him; which produced no other effect than inducing the count de Abranches, and ſome other friends of his to go and join him. A meſſage was then ſent to require all their arms: to which the duke anſwered, they were neceſſary to him and his friends for their defence againſt their enemies, and could be of no uſe to the king, who had none [l]. The queen interpoſed as far as ſhe could in favour of her father; and at length prevailed upon him to promiſe, that if the duke of Coimbra would write him a letter, and acknowlege his faults, he was willing to pardon them. The duke being informed of this promiſe, wrote one letter to the king, and another to the queen. In that he told her he had out of complaiſance to her wrote ſuch a letter as ſhe deſired, which ſhe was ſo imprudent as to ſhew the king, who tore the letter addreſſed to himſelf without reading it; adding, that ſince he wrote it only in complaiſance to

[i] La Neufville. de Garibay.
[k] Ant. Vaſconcellos, Le Clede, Eſtevan.
[l] Lequien de la Neufville.

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her, he retracted his promise [m]. He was then commanded to come to court upon his allegiance. By the advice of the count de Abranches he took with him an escorte of a thousand horse and five hundred foot. In his passage he was proclaimed a rebel, and soon after surrounded by the king's troops. The duke seized an advantageous post, and A.D. 1449. fortified it as well as it was possible. The king then published a proclamation, requiring all men to desert him, on pain of being punished as traitors; but not a man quitted him: on the contrary, many of the king's troops withdrew, and some went to die with the duke of Coimbra. Next day he was attacked in his intrenchments, and in the heat of the action killed with an arrow. The count de Abranches continued the fight, and refusing quarter, was likewise killed, with several other persons of distinction. The king carried his resentment so high, that he forbid their bodies to be buried; in consequence of which prohibition they lay three days on the field of battle, and then the peasants carried away the duke privately, and buried him in an obscure village [n]. His virtue, hated in courts, was adored by the uncorrupt part of his countrymen.

Don Alonso does justice to his memory, and causes his body to be interred at the monastery of Batalha.

The king Don Alonso returned in triumph to Lisbon, where the implacable enemies of the duke of Coimbra vented their resentment, not only upon all that had been in arms with, but on those also who had shewn any affection for him. His son Don Diego, and many more, were kept in prison; his eldest son Don Pedro retired into Castile; several were put to the torture, and interrogated as to the duke's treason, but to no purpose; all his papers likewise fell into the king's hands, and these gave great lights, not into any conspiracy, but into a multitude of designs he had formed for the service of the king and of the nation [o]. A manifesto, drawn up by his enemies, was sent in the king's name to pope Nicholas the Fifth, who treated it without ceremony as a heap of falsehoods, and threatened to excommunicate those who had denied him burial [p]. The duke of Burgundy, who was the king's uncle, demanded Don Pedro's body; and that his children might have leave to retire into his dominions. These applications put the king much out of humour [q]. He ordered his uncle's corpse to be taken up, and carried to the castle of Abrantes; stopt all prosecutions; and soon after, upon

[m] Faria y Sousa. [n] Lequien de la Neufville. [o] Vasconcellos, Ferreras. [p] Lequien de la Neufville, Faria y Sousa. [q] Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, Le Clede.

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A.D.1450. mature deliberation, declared all the noblemen and gentlemen, who had adhered to the late duke of Coimbra, his loyal subjects. On the death of the infant Don Juan, who had been acknowleged his heir apparent, he ordered the body of the duke of Coimbra to be transported, with great pomp from the castle of Abrantes, to the monastery of Batalha, where it was interred in the tomb which he had caused to be erected for himself.

The princess Donna Joanna married to Don Henry IV. king of Castile and Leon.

Some alteration was made in the situation of things at the court of Portugal, by the marriage of the infanta Donna Leonora to the emperor Frederic the Third. She passed the sea to Italy, accompanied by some persons of the first quality, and the ceremony of her marriage was performed by the pope himself [r]. Don Alonso was very desirous of undertaking some expedition of importance against the Moors of Barbary; and till things were ripe for this purpose, supported the measures of his uncle the infant Don Henry, for discovering the coast of Guinea, from whence they already began to import gold in considerable quantities. This success induced the Castilians to grow jealous: Don Juan sent an embassy to Lisbon, alledging that he had some right to these discoveries, and threatening to support that right by force, in case the Portuguese fleet
A.D. 1453. should proceed. Don Alonso answered with great moderation, that as he never heard of those rights before, it was not at all strange that he had not respected them; but that he was very willing to enter into the discussion of them whenever the king of Castile pleased [s]. But Don Juan dying, this affair was attended with no great consequences. His successor, Don Henry the Fourth, in the very first year of his reign, sent an agent privately into Portugal, to negotiate a marriage with the infanta Donna Joanna [t], the king Don Alonso's sister, which was speedily and secretly concluded, notwithstanding the king and his sister were both well acquainted with the usage the princess Blanch of Navarre, his first wife, had received, and the strong suspicions there were of his impotence. Some months after the infanta, attended and accompanied in a manner suitable to her birth, took her journey into Castile, which proved equally unfortunate to herself, and to the inhabitants of Castile and Portugal. On the 3d of May,

[r] Zurita. Annal. Arragon, Estevan de Garibay, Rainald, Ferreras. [s] Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, Faria y Souſa, Le Clede. [t] Cronica del Rey Don Henrique, Quarto, de Alonso de Palencia.

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the queen Donna Isabella was delivered of a son, who was baptized in the cathedral church of Lisbon by the name of John. The joy which this occasioned was equally sincere in the king and subjects.

Death of queen Isabella of Portugal, not without strong suspicions of poison.

The infant Don Ferdinand, brother to the king, is by the Portuguese historians said to have stolen over to Ceuta, with an intention to distinguish himself in some expedition against the Moors; but his brother suspecting that there was in this a tincture of discontent, as hitherto no provision had been made for him, sent him orders to return, which he obeyed with such alacrity, that the king gave him a noble appenage. We are elsewhere told, that the king appointed him to command a fleet and army; but that the latter being infected with the plague at Ceuta, occasioned his hasty return, without performing any thing of importance [u]. On the 2d of December died the queen of Portugal [w] at Evora, of a short illness, not without very strong suspicions of poison; for the enemies of her father, perceiving the ascendency she had gained over the king, and fearing that after procuring the restitution of his honour, she might incline to revenge his ill usage on the authors of his misfortunes, thought this the shortest method to rid themselves of their fears. The whole nation expressed their affection for her by a general mourning, and by as general execrations against those they took to be the authors of her death; and the king gave the clearest proof of the sincerity of his passion, by his never having afterwards any commerce with the sex. He caused her body to be interred, with all possible solemnity, near that of her father; at the same time he caused the corpse of his mother Donna Leonora to be removed out of Castile, and interred likewise in the church of the royal abbey of Batalha [x]. Such were the melancholy events of this year. A D. 1455.

The king carries on the war with success against the Moors in Barbary.

As the state of affairs in Castile was very unsettled, queen Joanna earnestly pressed the king Don Henry, her husband, to an interview with her brother, to which Don Alonso of Portugal very willingly consented, as a means of dissipating the concern he was under for the loss of the queen [y]. In the spring of the year the two kings, with their respective courts, met on the frontiers, from whence they proceeded to Badajoz, where they feasted three days, at the expence of the king of Castile; and then repaired A.D. 1456.

[u] Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville. [w] Ed. Nunez, Roy de Pina, Ferreras. [x] Faria y Sousa, Le Clerc. [y] Alonso de Palencia.

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to Yelves, where they were feasted for the like space of time by the king of Portugal. The queen of Castile at this juncture introduced Don Pedro of Portugal, eldest son to the duke of Coimbra, to her brother, who received him with great testimonies of affection and esteem, restored him to his honours, employments, and estates, and carried him back with him to Lisbon [z]. Pope Calixtus the Second having published a crusade against the Turks, Don Alonso very readily consented to the equipment of a very large squadron, with a numerous corps of troops on board, which he actually sent to the assistance of the Christians; but the civil wars in Italy first, and next the death of the pope, rendered that military scheme abortive [a]. It is said, that the coin still current in Portugal under the denomination of cruzadoes, were originally struck upon this occasion, and were made of the gold they received from Guinea. The king having been at a great expence in making these preparations, and being of a very warm and active disposition, resolved to turn his arms against the Moors in Barbary: to which design he was encouraged by his uncle the infant Don Henry, grand-master of the order of Christ, who promised to attend him with a good squadron of his own, and he was likewise accompanied by his brother, and most of the young nobility in his kingdom. This fleet and army consisted of about two hundred sail, and twenty thousand men. The best part of the latter being safely landed on the coast of Africa, Don Alonso besieged Alcaçer [b], and took it without any difficulty. He secured it with a strong garrison under the command of Don Edward de Meneses; who, after the return of the Christian army, found himself
A.D 1459. besieged by the king of Fez; but he defended himself with such resolution, that the Moors were at length obliged to raise the siege. This miscarriage did not hinder their attempting it a second and a third time, in which last siege they were very near prevailing, if a strong reinforcement from Portugal had not happily arrived, and got safely
A.D 1460. into the place. With this reinforcement came the king's order to Don Edward de Meneses, to return to Portugal, where he was received with all possible marks of honour, and the king, as a reward of his services, created him count of Viana [c].

[z] Faria y Sousa, la Neufville, Le Clede. [a] Rainald, Alonso de Palencia. [b] Ed. Nune Vasconcellos, Ferreras. [c] Lequien de la Neufville, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede.

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This success in Africa excited an extraordinary joy in the Portuguese nation, which, however, was quickly allayed by the death of several princes of the blood. Of these the first was Don Alonso count of Ourem, a man of great art, but withal of great abilities, who had been long esteemed the greatest statesman in that country. He was quickly followed by his uncle and the king's, Don Henry duke of Viseo (A). In a short space after died the father of the count of Ourem, Don Alonso, duke of Bragança, one of the greatest men in Portugal[d]; and who would have been still much greater if in the beginning his greatness had not been founded in the favour of the re-

The deaths of the count deOurem, the infant Don Henry, and the duke of Bragança.

[d] Le Clede, Vasconcellos, Lequien de la Neufville.

(A) This noble prince was the fourth son of Don Juan the First, king of Portugal. He founded the town of Sagrez, as we have shewn in the history, which stands a very few miles from Cape St. Vincent, in the kingdom of Algarve, and made it one of the finest ports and best fortified places in the kingdom, the navigation of those times considered. He was certainly not only one of the greatest men of his time in Portugal, but one of the greatest men that any country or any age ever produced; whatever advantages have resulted from the discovery of the best part of Africa, of the East-Indies, and of the West; nay, whatever shall result from them, to the very end of time, is strictly due to the genius and labours of this prince, unless we are inclined to refer part to his father, king John, who observing that his inclinations were entirely turned to mathematical studies, encouraged and gave him proper masters in his youth; and as he grew up bestowed upon him such appointments as enabled him to carry his speculations into practice. He was not only a practical discoverer, by the expeditions defrayed out of his purse, but he was really the author of that spirit of discovery, by which so much has been done since. He had very just notions of the structure of the globe: he suggested the great use of longitude and latitude in sailing, and how these were to be ascertained by astronomical observations: he was a great master in the art of shipbuilding: he had very clear ideas of the beneficial consequences that would attend the increase of navigation, establishment of colonies, and extending foreign commerce; and he propagated these so effectually among his disciples, that though ignorance and superstition made many efforts to stifle this spirit, yet it was without effect, and his own country was the first that reaped the profit of his inestimable talents (1).

(1) Vasconcellos, Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Ferreras, Le Clede.

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gent Don Pedro, his brother, and when he could oblige him no longer carried to a greater height by his fall (B). A circumstance that afterwards came home to his family when least expected.

A new expedition into Africa, attended with some reverses of fortune.

The king finding all things quiet in his own dominions, and being well informed of the state of Tangier, which, for having once baffled the Portuguese arms, and proved fatal to the liberty and life of his uncle, had been ever the object of his resentment and ambition, made another expedition to Africa, attended by his brother Don Ferdinand, whom he had created duke of Viseo, the constable Don Pedro duke of Coimbra, the count of Viana, and several other persons equally distinguished by their quality and their talents, and more especially by their valour and success in arms[e]. The first attack was not very fortunate; for the infant Don Ferdinand attempting to surprise Tangier, with a small corps of troops, was routed, and escaped with great difficulty. The king, ravaging the country in resentment of this disgrace, was near meeting with a greater, since he was on the very point of being taken prisoner, if he had not been rescued by the count of Viana, who fell himself into their hands, and was barbarously cut in pieces[f]. The count de Marialva, and Don Gomez Freyras, were likewise taken prisoners, and ransomed at a great expence; so that this expedition was none of the most fortunate. The constable Don Pedro, at his return, was invited to Barcelona, where he was by the Catalans honoured with the title of king

A.D. 1462.

[e] Vasconcellos, Le Clede.

[f] Faria y Sousa, Ferreras.

(B) The family of Braganza, now upon the throne of Portugal, sprang from the person of whom we are now to speak. He was the only natural son of John the First, mentioned in history, and was certainly elder than any of his legal issue, though we cannot tell exactly the time of his birth. This son of his, Don Alonso, he created count of Barcelos, and procured for him Donna Beatrix, the heiress of the first constable of Portugal, Don Nugno Alvarez Pereyra, count of Arayolos and Ourem, which honours, upon his demise, came to Alonso, who was by this means thrice an earl. His brother Don Pedro, duke of Coimbra, and regent of the kingdom, against whom he had taken up arms, and to whom he was only in shew reconciled, procured from their nephew Don Alonso, the lordship of Braganza, upon the death of its then possessor; and to render the obligation the greater, caused it to be erected into a duchy,

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of Arragon; and after running through a long series of dangers and fatigues, was so unfortunate as to die either of chagrin, or of poison [g]. The troubles continued all this time in Castile, and the king had several interviews with his brother and sister; in which a proposition was first made for Don Alonso to marry the infanta Donna Isabella, the king's sister, and afterwards that Don Juan, prince of Portugal, should espouse Donna Joanna, the king's reputed daughter; both of which proved ineffectual, and served only to furnish fewel to that flame which burnt but too fiercely before, and which was afterwards increased to such a height as consumed in a great measure the strength of both nations [h]. A.D. 1467.

The king's brother, Don Ferdinand, duke of Viseo, goes over with a new army into Barbary.

An establishment in Africa was what the king of Portugal had so much at heart, that as soon as his finances had recovered a little from the expences of one war, he was ever ready to enter on another. There was nothing he had more at heart, than the establishing a maritime frontier upon that coast, the better to defend the trade his subjects had begun to establish with the coast of Guinea, and from which a considerable degree of profit was already collected. Besides it greatly intimidated the Mooriſh princes, cut off their communication with their countrymen in Granada, and gave this monarch an opportunity of raising vast sums upon those large, rich, and trading towns which lay upon the coast, and which as yet he had not been able to reduce. The king, full of these thoughts, assembled a strong fleet, and a competent number of forces, which he embarked under the command of his brother Ferdinand, duke of Viseo, whom he had made constable, upon the death of Don Pedro, duke of Coimbra, and who was also master of the orders of Christ and St. James. On this occasion he acted with greater prudence, and therefore very probably met with better success; for he made himself master of the town of Anafe [i], situated in the kingdom of Fez, on the coast of the Atlantic ocean. He likewise obtained so good an account of some other places of consequence, and of the state of affairs among the infidels, that upon the report of the officers and engineers employed by him, the king Don Alonso determined to proceed to Africa in person the next year with a royal army, entertaining strong hopes that at length he should be able to accomplish what he

[g] Zurita Annal. Arragon, La Neufville. [h] Ruy de Pina, Ferreras. [i] Alonso de Palencia.

had

had so much desired, and what had been already more than once attempted without effect.

Don Alonso goes in person with his son Don Juan into Africa, and sustains some loss.

By the precautions which the king had taken while his brother was employed in this expedition, he was enabled to execute his own enterprize in a manner suitable to his wish. He was accompanied by his only son Don Juan, prince of Portugal, Ferdinand duke of Guimaraez, Don Juan de Coutigno count of Marialva, Alvaro de Castro count of Monsanto, Henry de Meneses count de Valenza, and others of the nobility. His fleet consisted of upwards of three hundred sail, and his army of twenty-four thousand men, exclusive of the mariners, who were upwards of six thousand. He left the regency of his dominions to his daughter Donna Joanna, and appointed Ferdinand duke of Bragança to assist her[k]. He sailed on the 15th of August, and when he arrived in sight of the coast of Barbary, his fleet was dispersed by a storm, in which some ships perished. However, when it was over, the fleet drew together again, and proceeded to Arzila, a strong place on the Atlantic ocean, at the distance of about fifty miles from the Streights of Gibraltar, which was the first object of this enterprize. He caused it to be attacked with great vigour; but the Moors made an obstinate defence. At length, however, it was carried by storm, as many of the enemy as survived retiring into the castle, and into a mosque, where they had laid up their most valuable effects. Don Alonso caused both these places to be attacked, and it was there that he lost the count of Monsanto, and the count of Marialva[l]. The king, when he saw the corpse of the last-mentioned lord, the blood still streaming from his wounds, turned to the prince, and said, "God grant you, my son, the virtues of that great man[m]." The Portuguese of those times might be killed, but not vanquished, and the army, though much afflicted, were more exasperated at this loss.

A D. 1470.

Gains several conquests, and redeems the body of his uncle Don Ferdinand.

They renewed the assault the nex day, and carried both the mosque and the castle sword in hand. The booty was immense, more especially when joined to the ransom of five thousand prisoners that were taken: amongst these were two of the wives and two sons of Muley Sheik, to whom the place belonged. The king gave upon the spot great marks of piety, gratitude, and generosity. He

[k] Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede, Faria y Sousa. Alonso de Palencia, Marmol, lib. ii. cap. xxxix. Ferreras. [l] Alonso [m] La Neufville, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede.

caused

caused the mosque to be purified, in which he returned solemn thanks to God for his victory: then he conferred on his son Don Juan the order of knighthood: he bestowed the honour of count de Monsanto, on the brother of the deceased lord: he bestowed all the employments of which the count de Marialva was possessed, in virtue of his long and faithful services, on his son, though a very young man; and added the government of Arzila to that of Alcaçer, which was already possessed by the count of Valenza. By the release of the two wives and one of the sons of the Mooriſh prince, he procured the body of his uncle the infant Don Ferdinand, for whom the infidels had erected a tomb on a high tower, as a monument of their victory; caused it to be transported to Lisbon, and from thence conveyed with great pomp to the royal monastery of Batalha [n]. The other son of the Sheik he would not ransom upon any terms; but at his return brought him with him into Portugal, gave him a liberal and princely education, and then sent him home to his father without any ransom. He lived many years in Barbary, and was called by the Moors Mohammed the Portugueſe [o].

Returns with great glory into his own dominions, and is ſtyled the Afriican.

A panic seized the Moors upon the loss of Arzila, and the destruction of the people who defended it; insomuch that the inhabitants of Tangier, though hitherto it had been reputed impregnable, abandoned it; and the Portugueſe monarch sent a detachment to seize the place, into which he made his public entry soon after [p]. This great and unexpected conquest satisfied the king's ambition; and having provided in the best manner possible for the security of his new acquisitions, he returned into Europe, covered with glory, and having acquired the lofty title of the African. He likewise added to those which had descended to him from his ancestors, that of lord of the coasts on both seas [q]; and, to perpetuate the memory of his exploits, caused them to be expressed in the greatest elegance in tapestry; in which his example has been followed by some of the greatest princes and ablest generals in succeeding times. While the king was in Africa, there happened an event which might have produced a rupture with England. The bastard Falconberg took

A.D. 1471.

[n] Vasconcellos, Bernaldez, Mariana. [o] Marmol, la Neufville, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras Historia de Espana, part x, § xv. [p] Faria y Sousa, Le Clede. [q] Faria y Sousa, Le Clede.

twelve

twelve Portugueſe ſhips, richly laden, at which action Don Alonſo was extremely incenſed; but when he underſtood that it happened during that revolution, in which his ally Edward the Fourth, was obliged to retire into the territories of the duke of Burgundy, and Henry the Sixth for a ſmall ſpace of time reaſcended the throne, he was eaſily pacified, and the affair was ſoon after compromiſed by negotiation, which reſtored the perfect harmony that had along reigned between the two nations.

Comes to a reſolution of vindicating the title of the infanta Donna Joanna, to the crown of Caſtile.

The reputation of Don Alonſo was now at the greateſt height; and the remainder of his reign might have been happy and eaſy, as well as glorious, if he had not embarked in the very intricate and troubleſome buſineſs of the ſucceſſion to the crown of Caſtile. This had been long the object of his attention, and while it remained in any degree at a diſtance, his conduct was wiſe and like that of a great politician; for he gave general and doubtful anſwers, by which he left hopes to thoſe who were in the intereſt of his niece, without entering into any abſolute engagement; but upon the death of king Henry the Fourth, who by his teſtimony declared this princeſs his heireſs, he found himſelf reduced to a neceſſity of taking one ſide or other[r]. He conſulted his council, where his ſon the prince, and moſt of the nobility, dazzled with the luſtre of the crown of Caſtile, and withal perceiving which way the king's inclinations leaned, adviſed him to accept the propoſals made him, and to marry the heireſs as ſoon as a diſpenſation could be obtained from the pope. The duke of Bracança oppoſed this meaſure vehemently: he obſerved, that the Caſtilian lords, who now eſpouſed the claim of the infanta Donna Joanna, were the very ſame perſons who had proclaimed Don Alonſo of Caſtile king; had as far as in them lay depoſed their lawful ſovereign; and had openly affirmed that he was incapable of begetting a child. He from thence inferred, that they had nothing but their own intereſt in view; and that therefore it was very unſafe for the king to truſt them. But the king conſidering that the duke was uncle to queen Iſabella, now ſeated on the throne of Caſtile, rejected his advice, though approved and adopted by the archbiſhop of Liſbon. He was content, however, at the motion of this prelate to ſend an agent into Caſtile, who reported at his return, that many of the firſt nobi-

r Lequien de la Neufville, Alonſo de Palencia, Ruy de Pina, Ferreras.

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lity, and the best part of the commons, were disposed to maintain the infanta's title. Upon this information it was resolved to enter into a war, to maintain the title of that unhappy princess, and to hazard the whole strength of Portugal, in hopes of conquering Castile [a].

Unfortunate issue of that long and laboured dispute in the cabinet and field.

We have written the history of this war in another place; and therefore, to avoid repetition, will say as little as possible of it here. But it may not be amiss to observe, that Don Alonso, in espousing the cause of the infanta Donna Joanna against Ferdinand and Isabella, acted very near the same part that Don Juan II. of Castile had done in supporting the claim of the infanta Donna Beatrix, to the crown of Portugal, against the grandfather of this prince, John the First, the legitimacy of both princesses being suspected, and there being a strong party in each nation in favour of that title, which in the end proved unsuccessful. In both cases the kings had very difficult parts to act, and were in a great measure deceived by the notions they formed of their subjects affections; for at first the Castilians, who were very desirous of making a province of Portugal, grew quickly weary of the war, and yet afterwards blamed their monarch for the peace he made. Though at the beginning the Portuguese were very earnest for this war, the military operations not answering their wishes, they grew uneasy and dissatisfied, and this dissatisfaction was the principal cause of their king's desisting from his pretensions, which they likewise blamed, and imputed the miseries that afterwards befel the kingdom to that timidity, which in reality was more owing to their conduct than to the inclination of their king. In cases, therefore, of this nature, it is infinitely better to be slow in resolving, than to enter hastily into a difficult enterprize, and after a great expence of blood and treasure, be content at last with worse terms than might have been obtained at first. In this instance the loss of the battle of Toro, in which the Portuguese say that king Ferdinand shewed very little courage, and in which the Spanish historians affirm that there was something very blameable in Don Alonso's conduct, gave a turn to the war, and put it absolutely out of the power of the king of Portugal to maintain the claim he had set up to the dominions of Castile. It threw his affairs into such confusion, as induced him to make a journey into France,

A.D. 1475.

[a] Hernando de Pulgar, Cronica de los Reyes Don Fernando y Donna Isabel.

in

in hopes of receiving assistance from a prince who was equally incapable of taking a generous resolution, or of declaring plainly he would not take it.

Don Alonso makes a voyage to France, to demand assistance from Lewis XI.

Don Alonso was thoroughly convinced that the conquest of Castile was not to be obtained without assistance. While he meditated in his own mind how this assistance was to be obtained, Don Alvaro de Atayda returned from the court of Lewis the Eleventh, who being engaged in a war with Arragon, and having no reason to believe Ferdinand and Isabella well inclined to him, gave this minister such fair language, and talked in so high a strain of the king of Portugal's courage and generosity, that Don Alvaro made no scruple of assuring that prince there was nothing he might not expect from the friendship of Lewis. Don Alonso therefore returning into Portugal, sent his niece Donna Joanna to Guarda, and went from thence to Porto, where he resolved to embark for France, having there a fleet of twenty-one sail of large ships, a train of five hundred gentlemen, and an escorte of near two thousand two hundred men at arms [u]. Some of his ministers laboured to dissuade him from this voyage; but Don Alonso was a prince of so much candour and sincerity, that he looked upon their suspicions and cautions as errors flowing from narrow minds, and unworthy the belief of a king. He dispatched therefore Don Francisco de Almeyda by land, to desire that Lewis would appoint a place for their meeting; and as soon as the wind was favourable, put to sea. He touched first at Ceuta, thence he proceeded to Marseilles, and afterwards landed at Colivre. He took his route through Perpignan, where in honour of so great a guest the prison gates were set open. At Bourges he was met by king Lewis, who, as a French historian says, did him the highest honours, being resolved in his own mind to do for him nothing else [w]. He told him, however, that he would have assisted him with the whole forces of his kingdom, if he had not been under the necessity of watching the motions of the duke of Burgundy; advised him to procure a dispensation from the pope for the marriage with his niece, which would give him an indisputable title to the crown of Castile, and promised when this should be obtained, to appoint

[t] Faria y Sousa, Mayerne, Turquet, P. Daniel Histoire de France. [u] Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede, Hernando de Pulgar, Ruy de Pian, Alonso de Palencia, Ferreras. [w] P. Daniel Hist. de France, Pierre Mathieu, Dupleix, Ferreras.

commissioners

commissioners to regulate the succours he should give him in money and in men [x]. He also communicated various projects for bribing the governors of provinces and great towns.

Becomes the dupe of that monarch, and is so ashamed that he would retire to Jerusalem.

Don Alonso, pleased with the success of this negotiation, undertook to conclude a lasting peace between Lewis and the duke of Burgundy. With this view he made a journey to the duke's camp before Nancy, where the duke laboured to open his eyes, and to shew him that Lewis had not the least intention to perform the assurances he had given him. The duke being soon after killed [y], Don Alonso returned into France, and by the desire of king Lewis went to Paris, where he was treated in the most obliging manner. In the mean time the dispensation was obtained at Rome: upon which Don Alonso followed Lewis to Arras, to press the immediate performance of his promises; where finding nothing but artifice and delay, he perceived plainly that he was duped. He returned from thence to Rouen to wait for his fleet, and receiving there certain intelligence that Lewis was treating of a peace and an alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella, at Bayonne, he was so much affected with the usage he had received, that he determined to go and visit the holy places at Jerusalem, and hide himself from the world for ever. In pursuance of this resolution he left Rouen, accompanied only by two pages, two other servants, and Stephen Martinez his chaplain. One of these servants he directed to carry four letters to Antonio de Faria, who was lately come from the prince his son. One was directed to the king of France, giving him an account of his design, and desiring his protection for the servants he had left behind. Another was directed to the prince his son, commanding him to cause himself to be proclaimed king, and never expect to see him more. The third was directed to the nobility and people, requiring them to acknowlege the prince for their sovereign. And the fourth to his domestics, directing them to obey the count de Faro, till they would have an opportunity of returning home [z]. These letters being delivered, the French king ordered strict search to be made after him, and he was quickly found by Robinet le Beuf, a gentleman of Nor-

[x] Vasconcellos, Ruz de Pina, Hist. du Louis XI. par M. Du Clos. [y] Ed. Nunez, Damian de Goes, Alonso de Palencia, Faria y Sousa. [z] Alonso de Palencia, Faria y Sousa, la Neufville, Le Clede, Ed. Nunez, Damian Goes, Fetreras.

mandy,

mandy. The noblemen who attended him from Portugal being come about him, perſuaded him to return home; and Lewis, who by this time had concluded a treaty with Ferdinand and Iſabella, furniſhed him readily with ſhips and a proper eſcorte [a].

The conduct of the prince Don Juan, in quality of regent, during Don Alonſo's abſence.

In the king's abſence, Portugal was governed by the prince Don Juan, with great ability. He applied himſelf with much diligence to repair all the diſaſters that had happened, and to prevent Portugal, from feeling the effects of an unſucceſsful war. His diligence, and his ſucceſs in this reſpect, merited the thanks of the ſtates, whom he aſſembled at Monte-Major, and from whom he received as large ſupplies as he thought fit to deſire; and when the aſſembly roſe he went to Evora to give the neceſſary orders for covering the frontier. He was ſcarce arrived, before Don Alonſo de Cardenas, a very enterprizing Caſtilian officer, advanced towards the city, with two thouſand lances. The prince had no troops to oppoſe him, and the people were equally terrified for his danger and their own. Where force is wanting fraud is lawful in war. The prince ſent him a meſſage, that if he would have a little patience he would meet him in the field. Don Alonſo anſwered, that he did not know that the prince was ſo near; but ſince he was, he would come and pay his reſpects to him. The prince perceiving this artifice had failed, ordered Don Garcia de Meneſes to ſally with three hundred horſe, which was all he had in the place, in the night, to advance ſome miles towards the enemy, and to traverſe all the great road till morning, and then to return. When Don Alonſo de Cardenas came with his infantry near the city, and perceived the track of ſo many horſes, he concluded that the prince had received a great reinforcement of cavalry, and thereupon retired [b]. The prince having put all things into the beſt order poſſible, returned to Liſbon; from thence he went to Santaren, where he received his father's letters; and by the advice of the prelates, and principal nobility of the kingdom, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king, on the 10th of November. On the 15th of the ſame month, the king Don Alonſo arrived in the river of Liſbon. It is ſaid, that Don Juan was walking by the ſide of the Tagus, with the duke of Bragança and the archbiſhop of Liſbon, when he received this information. He aſked

[a] Hernando de Pulgar, Du Clos, P. Daniel, Pierre Mathieu, Mezeray. [b] Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede.

thoſe

those lords hastily how he should receive him. "As your father and your king, sir," said the duke of Bragança [c], Don Juan kept a profound silence for some minutes, and then taking up a flat stone, skimmed it with all his force into the river. "That stone (said the archbishop softly to the duke of Bragança) shall never break my head," and from that moment meditated his retreat to Rome [d]. When he had recovered himself a little, Don Juan went to meet his father, and received him not only with all the marks of respect, but with all the testimonies of joy and satisfaction imaginable. Don Alonso was sensible of his mistake, and desired to retain only the title of king of Algarve; but Don Juan answered, there could not be two kings in Portugal, and his majesty being there, there could be none but him [e]. His succeeding conduct fully justified the sincerity of these warm expressions. A.D.1477.

As soon as Don Alonso resumed the government, he laboured to renew the war with Castile, and endeavoured by all means possible to draw new friends to his party in that kingdom, instead of those who had deserted him. In this manner the war was kept up for two years, during which, the pope annulled his own dispensation, and declared the marriage between Don Alonso and his niece void, which, however, was never concluded. At length the state of affairs so requiring, and the prince Don Juan, shewing a visible dislike to the war, and the measures necessary to continue it, the king, by the interposition of Donna Beatrix, duchess of Viseu, entered into a negotiation, which at length ended in a peace, on terms which have been already specified in the history of Castile. The Portuguese writers expressly affirm, that Donna Joanna of Castile so much resented the terms made for her in that treaty, by which she was to wait for a husband till the son of Ferdinand and Isabella was of age to marry, who might even then refuse her upon paying a certain sum of money, that she chose to take the veil at once, and went of her own accord into the monastery of St. Clara at Coimbra [f]. Before the peace was ratified, in which the king and queen of Castile abandoned their pretensions to Guinea, their subjects sent a fleet thither of thirty sail, which in its return was intercepted by the Portuguese, and every ship taken, their cargoes being of immense value. This loss, with some other cross accidents, procured A.D.1479.

War renewed with Castile, which however is terminated by a peace.

[c] Alonso de Palencia, Ruy de Pina, Damian Goes, Ferreras. [d] Faria y Sousa. [e] Vasconcellos, Le Clede. [f] Faria y Sousa, La Neufville.

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the conclusion and ratification of the peace which had been so long deferred [g].

Don Alonso is assiduous in his endeavours to leave his dominions in peace.

About the time that the unfortunate Donna Joanna took the veil, the king Don Alonso fell extremely ill, and upon his recovery, seeing the plague break out in his dominions, by which multitudes of people were destroyed, sunk into a profound melancholy. In this condition he meditated a second resignation, and at the same time told his son that he had two great ends in view, when he consented to resume the crown; the first was, putting a period to the war with Castile; and the latter, reconciling him to the house of Bragança, which he looked upon as a point of no less importance. It is not very clear how this enmity between the prince and duke arose. Some say, that the duke could never digest the death of Don Pedro, duke of Coimbra; and that he kept by him the bloody shirt in which that prince was killed, which was given him by his aunt: but surely if this had been the case, his pique would have been against the father rather than the son. Others assert, that the prince resented the duke's chiding him for making his addresses to Donna Agnes de Mendoza, who was maid of honour to the infanta Donna Joanna. It is, however, more than probable that the true, or at least the principal cause, was the supposed attachment of the duke to the family of Castile, to which he was nearly allied [h]. The king took great pains to persuade his son that these suspicions were injurious, at the same time assuring him that his regard for the duke of Bragança arose from his finding him always faithful and always sincere. It seems this assurance did not make any great impression upon Don Juan, who though perhaps not displeased with his father's disposition to resign, yet strongly opposed his intention to retire to a convent, being desirous of receiving his advice, and of having him always near. Some say [i], that Don Alonso called an assembly of the states, in which with great solemnity he devolved the government upon his son: but others, with more probability, assert, that having acquainted his son with his sentiments, he privately retired with an intention to go to the monastery of St. Antonio de Varatojo, which he had chosen for his retreat; but arriving at Cintra he was seized with the plague, and died there on the 28th of August, 1481, in the forty-ninth

[g] Hernando de Pulgar, Le Clede Ferreras. [h] Hernando de Pulgar, Ferreras, Le Clede, Faria y Sousa, La Neufville. [i] Zurita Annal. Arragon.

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year of his age [k], and in the forty-third of his reign (G). As he was exceedingly beloved, he was deeply and universally regretted by his subjects, who saw with some concern the entrance of a new reign, which they apprehended would be of another complexion; for as benignity and affability were the characteristics of Don Alonso's disposition, so strictness and rigid punctuality were very manifest in the humour of his successor, who expected from all that profound deference and submission, and that prompt and ready obedience, which he had upon all occasions shewn to his father.

The accession of Don Juan II. and the spirit shewn by him upon his accession.

Don Juan the second, surnamed by some the Great, but by most of the Portuguese historians the Perfect, ascended the throne in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He began his reign by celebrating the funeral of his father with great pomp; and he executed his will in all respects with the utmost exactness. He went still farther: he enquired after those servants who, through mistake, want of memory, or ill offices done them, were omitted in the will, and rewarded them as if he had received his father's verbal instructions, as indeed he made a long journey in a short space of time, that he might attend and serve his father in his last moments. He caused the stone and wood-work of a large and commodious fort to be prepared at Lisbon, and sent a small squadron, with five hundred soldiers and a hundred masons on board, who, before the Negroes well knew what they were about, constructed the fortress of St. George del Mina, and thereby secured that coast [l]. A person who had been very dear to him in his youth brought him a promise he had given him under his hand to make him a count: he looked upon it gravely, tore it, and said to the man, "I shall forget there was such a paper." He added a minute after, "Such as corrupt the minds of young

[k] Ed. Nunez. Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [l] Ferreras Historia de Espana, part xi. sect. xv.

(G) This monarch was very graceful in his person, though somewhat bulky; wore his beard thick and long; his hair was of a dark brown, and his complexion ruddy; very courteous in his manners, and became gradually dearer to his people the longer he reigned. He was very bountiful: remarkably temperate in eating and sleeping; still more so in regard to women, since we find no imputation upon his chastity, though he became a widower in the very flower of his age. He was himself a man of letters, and a great patron of learning.

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princes, and by becoming the inſtruments of their pleaſures extract from them promiſes that ought not to be performed, ſhould conſider it as a favour that they are not puniſhed." He called an aſſembly of the ſtates in the month of November, in which the duke of Bragança for the nobility, the deputies of Liſbon for the cities, and thoſe of Santaren for the towns in Portugal, did him homage. He propoſed and cauſed to be enacted many good laws; and he appointed commiſſaries to go into all parts of the kingdom to ſee that they were executed. He rewarded liberally: he puniſhed ſeverely; but he firſt reprimanded ſharply. He ſaid to an indolent and corrupt judge, but a man of parts, "Take care, friend, I hear you keep your hands open and your doors ſhut." He took the king's caution, and became an excellent judge. He ordered the nobility to exhibit their charters and grants, that it might be known upon what foundation their privileges ſtood, and particularly their exorbitant juriſdictions. He directed criminals to be ſeized wherever they could be found. The great lords ſaid, this was a breach of their immunities: the king anſwered, that an immunity againſt juſtice was an abſurdity, and that the king who made ſuch a grant never intended it [m].

Duke of Bragança condemned and executed for holding correſpondence in Caſtile.

The whole nobility of the kingdom were diſturbed by theſe proceedings, and began to conſider how they might ſtop the progreſs of them. The duke of Bragança was at the head of this deſign, which he carried ſo far as to demand the protection, and conclude a treaty with Don Ferdinand king of Caſtile and Arragon. A perſon employed in tranſcribing his writings found the copies of the duke's letters, and this treaty in the duke's archives, and carried them to the king, who ordered him to tranſcribe and then replace them [n]. Some time after, when he had the duke in his power, he expoſtulated this matter with him, and told him that he meant to obſerve the laws himſelf, and therefore he ſaw no reaſon to exempt others from obedience; that this conduct was for the good of the people in general, and would ſtrengthen the power of the nobility by augmenting the number of their vaſſals, and increaſing their revenues. He told him what papers he had ſeen; "But, duke, ſaid he, I can forgive, let me ſee that you can forget." Some time after, he found him involved

[m] La Neufville, Faria y Souſa, Le Clede. [n] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Garcias de Reſendo de Vida del Rey D. Juan ho Segundo de Portugal, fol. Chriſtoval Ferreira y Sampayo, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

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in practices of a like nature: he caused him to be arrested at Evora, brought him to a public trial, and in consequence of that, to a public execution [o]. The duchess of Bragança, though the queen's sister, retired immediately into Castile, with her three sons. The marquis de Monte-Mayor, and the count de Faro, brothers to the deceased duke, were also declared traitors, and their estates confiscated; but it is remarkable that Don Ferdinand king of Castile did not interfere; and some say the king of Portugal wrote him a letter, in which he told him he would find it more for his interest to have his friendship than that of his nobility. But after the death of the duke he did interpose, though ineffectually, on behalf of the duchess and her children.

Situation of affairs, and the sense of the people of Portugal at this juncture.

We must acknowlege that this was one of those great strokes in government, of which it is not very easy to say whether it deserves condemnation or praise. The nobility thought themselves injured, and believed they had a right of self-defence. The duke of Bragança, who was at the head of them, and who in point of estate was little inferior to the king, felt this diminution the most, and was therefore the most piqued. Whatever his intrigues were with the court of Castile, he never looked upon himself as a rebel, because he meant to take nothing from the king, but barely to defend the privileges of the nobles. On the other hand, the king looked upon those privileges as visibly injurious to the public welfare, and as usurpations upon his prerogative. Yet he was no admirer of prerogative; for in the assembly at Evora he declared, that the welfare of the nation was the point to be respected, and that the palace was no sanctuary for criminals. He gave other instances of this disposition: his judges confiscated estates to his use: he would say to them very graciously, "I hope you have done right;" but when they decided in favour of the subject, he would say, with apparent marks of joy, "I know you have done well," and sometimes made them presents. After all, it was a struggle between the regal and aristocratical parts of the constitution, which the king managed with great sagacity and firmness, but which was not followed by the effects which he expected. Soon after the duke's death, he made a tour with the queen into the northern parts of his dominions, in order to see that the regulations, made in the assembly of the states, were car-

[o] Faria y Sousa, Le Clede, Ferreras Historia de Espana, part xi. sect. xv.

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ried into execution; and returned to Santaren, that he might have an eye to the commerce of Africa, which, through his care and attention, became every day more considerable [p]. The court of Rome having some dispute with this prince, he gave the pope to understand, that he never intended to invade the privileges of the clergy; but that he was fully resolved they should not extend them. Upon sifting this matter to the bottom, the fault was found to lie in cardinal da Cunha, whom the king reprimanded so roundly that there it ended [q].

Conspiracy of the young duke of Viseo discovered, and himself killed by the king.

It was not long after his coming back from Santaren, that he was informed by the brother of a young woman, with whom the bishop of Evora had an intrigue, that the young duke of Viseo, brother to the queen, had embarked in a design against his life. This business was so perplexed and embarrassed, that the king found himself more than once in the hands of the conspirators, from whom he escaped only by his address, and by the assistance of Vasco Coutigno, to whom the conspiracy had been discovered by his brother. At length, under pretence of amusement, having drawn the duke of Viseo to the court, then at Setubal, he took him aside, and charged him with the wicked design in which he was embarked. What passed between them is not very clear; but it is certain the king stabbed him dead at his feet. Some say, that he addressed him in these words, "Brother, what would you do with a man that had conspired against your life?" The duke answering, "I would kill him first if I could;" the king replied, "Die then by your own sentence," and so struck him to the heart with his dagger. When he was down the king said, "Go your ways to the duke of Braganca, tell him the issue of his contrivances, and the fate of his fellow traitors." This incident occasioned a prodigious tumult; but it was quickly calmed by the king's presence, who avowed what he had done, and told the people that the rest of the conA.D. 1484. spirators were apprehended. These were left to the severity of the law, and were condemned upon full proofs. The bishop of Evora was thrown into a foul cistern, in the fortress of Palma, and there, as some say, eaten by vermin [r]. His brother, Don Ferdinand de Meneses, and

[p] Vida y Acciones del Rey Don Juan el Segundo, por Don Augustin, Manuel y Vasconcellos, Garcias de Resende, Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede. [q] Faria y Sousa, Christoval Ferreira y Sampayo. [r] De Rebus gestis Joannis II. Lusitanorum Regis: autore Emmanuele Telleso Sylvio Marchione Alegretensi. Vasconcellos, Ferreras, Historia de Espana, part xi. sect. xv. Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Lequien de la Neufville.

Pedro

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Pedro de Alberquerque, were beheaded. Guttero Coutigno was impriſoned in the caſtle of Avis. Lopez de Alberquerque made his eſcape to one of his caſtles, and his wife, who was the ſiſter of cardinal da Cunha, began to raiſe troops. The king ſent her word, that though her huſband had fought his life, he did not thirſt for his blood; and that their whole family might go into Caſtile if they pleaſed, which offer they very thankfully embraced. The king then ſent for Don Emanuel, the brother of the duke of Viſeo, to court. Diego de Silva, his governor, brought him with fear and trembling. The king received him very kindly, and after embracing him, told him the whole ſtory of his brother's conſpiracy; then added, "By his treaſon the eſtates of your family are eſcheated to the crown. The towns of Mouro and Serpa ſtand on the frontiers of Caſtile, and are well fortified. I doubt theſe circumſtances might contribute to ſuggeſt ill thoughts to your brother. Except theſe, for which I will give you more than an equivalent, I reſtore you his whole ſucceſſion. I make you grand-maſter of the order of Chriſt, and conſtable of Portugal. All I deſire of you is, forget that you had a brother, and remember that you are my ſon[s]." At this time the king meditated an expedition into Barbary, upon this principle, that he thought his poſſeſſions there inſecure unleſs they were extended. As ſome preparations were made for this expedition in his ports, the Moors, who inhabited the town and diſtrict of Azemor, revolted and offered to ſubmit to the king of Portugal, if he would ſuffer them to live according to their own laws, and in the practice of their own religion; to which terms he aſſented, and received from their deputies the keys of the city[t].

The great wiſdom of the king's conduct in regard to Ferdinand of Caſtile.

The next year the king thought fit to ſend an ambaſſy to their Catholic majeſties Ferdinand and Iſabella, in which he acted with great policy; for he communicated to them all the proceedings againſt the duke of Bragança, and the late conſpirators, as to his principal friends and allies, which exceedingly diſconcerted the malcontents at home, who had placed all their hopes in the protection of that court. Don Ferdinand himſelf, though the greateſt politician of that age, was ſurpriſed, as expecting rather an expoſtulation. His affairs, however, requiring the friendſhip of Portugal, and his army in the war of Granada being diſtreſſed for ammunition, he reſolved to try how far it might be depended upon by demanding a ſupply from king

[s] Faria y Souſa. [t] Faria y Souſa, Le Clede.

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John, who ſent more than was aſked, and with ſuch ſpeed that their majeſties ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to give him thanks [w]. Some French corſairs having taken four Venetian gallies, and ſet their crews aſhore naked at the mouth of the river of Liſbon, the king ordered them to be clothed and fed, and ſent them withal ſuch a ſum of money, by way of alms, that they ranſomed their gallies, and returned home; which generoſity brought an embaſſy from the republic, to return him thanks, and to deſire his alliance [x]. He began now to add to his titles that of lord of Guinea, from whence he drew great riches, as well as from the reſort of veſſels of different nations, unto the havens of Portugal, where, under colour of royal generoſity, and a ſeeming ignorance of its conſequence, he eſtabliſhed a kind of a free-port, exceedingly beneficial to his ſubjects; and indeed, if we may credit what ſome writers report, there have been very few kings who had ſo much knowledge in reſpect to commerce as he; and who, notwithſtanding, diſcloſed it ſo little; for it ſeems he conſidered it as the moſt lucrative branch of policy, and was rather more tender of ſecrets in trade than ſecrets of ſtate (H).

A.D 1486.

[w] Hernando de pulgar, La Neufville Sampayo, Reſende, Le Clede.

[x] Chriſtoval Ferreira y

It

(H) If we ſhould enter only into the detail of this prince's policy, in regard to commerce, it would require more ſpace than we have aſſigned to his whole reign. We ſhall, therefore, only give a few great inſtances for the reader's information and ſatisfaction. He allowed only women to wear ſilk, ſilver, and precious ſtones. Some of his council objected to this, as a reſtriction prejudicial to trade; to which he anſwered, "You are miſtaken. If one half of my ſubjects are luxurious they will find work enough for the other." He coined a great deal of money, and was very correct in the weight and fineneſs. In order to increaſe his revenue, he took away one half of the duties at the port of Liſbon, which effectually anſwered his purpoſe, and drew thither the trade from Galicia and Andaluſia. He magnified the dangers of voyages to Guinea: according to his accounts, every quarter of the moon produced a tempeſt; the ſhores were all covered by the rocks; the countries barren, and inhabited by maſſ-eaters; a particular kind of veſſel, built only in Portugal, was abſolutely neceſſary to navigate thoſe ſeas; and of theſe, if three out of five returned, it was a great mercy. By theſe ſtories other nations were deterred from this navigation till the Portugueſe were ſettled upon the coaſt. A ſeaman, who had been more than once at Guinea, and having reported that any ſhip might

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It was this king's humour, like that of many of his predeceſſors, not to have any ſettled place of reſidence, but to paſs his time as the ſeaſons invited, or as his occaſions required; now in one place and then in another: but wherever he went he took care that his having been there ſhould never be forgot. Setubal, or as we commonly call it, St. Ubes, is finely ſeated, has a moſt noble fiſhery, rich ſalt mines, and a pleaſant bay before it, as well as a good port; yet it made no great figure, becauſe the water about it was none of the beſt. The king adviſed them to bring water from ſome diſtance by an aqueduct; but the inhabitants excuſed themſelves by ſaying they were not rich, and intimated they were heavily taxed. King John took off half of the taxes, and made them a preſent of the

His policy and vigilance in other reſpects, and what effects they produced.

ſail thither as well as a caravel, the king ſent for him and reprimanded him publicly as an impudent ignorant fellow, who talked of things he did not underſtand. Some months after he appeared at court, and ſaid, that being obſtinate in his own opinion, he had made a trial, and found it indeed impracticable. The king ſmiled, ſent for him privately, gave him a ſum of money, bid him ſtick to his ſtory, and find plauſible reaſons for it. Three ſeamen attempting to go into Caſtile, with propoſals upon this ſubject, he cauſed them to be purſued by people, who killed two upon the ſpot, and brought the third back to Evora, where he was broke upon the wheel. He was told the ſailors murmured at this: "So much the better, ſaid the king; let every man ſtick to his element; I do not like travelling ſeamen." When Cano, who diſcovered the kingdom of Congo, told him the country was rich in gold, but they would not ſhew him the mines, "Never look for them, ſaid the king, treat the people with tenderneſs, deal with them juſtly, and carry them what they like; you will then get what thoſe mines produce, without digging in them." When the French reſtored the caravel they had taken, there was nothing miſſing but a parroket: he refuſed, however, to releaſe the French ſhips till the bird was brought to Liſbon. At which, when ſome expreſſed aſtoniſhment, "I would have it underſtood, ſaid the king, that the flag of Portugal ſhall protect even a parroket." He was more exact than any man in his dominions in obeying the laws; and when in ſome inſtances his courtiers thought this trivial, he ſaid, "You do me wrong; the thing may be trivial, but my example is ever of importance." He was very affable and courteous to ſuch as approached him; yet would ſometimes alter his behaviour, and treat them coldly; but he qualified this by ſaying, "It is fit I ſhould do this ſometimes that the people may not hate you for being favourites."

other

other half, for a fund to raiſe the aqueduct. After ſome progreſs, they told the king it was impoſſible for them to go on; to which he very calmly anſwered, "Then I muſt." He finiſhed the aqueduct; and the great trade of the place ſoon juſtified the meaſures taken by the king to remove this obſtacle [a]. The principal reaſon that carried the king thither was to fit out a fleet againſt the Moors, under the command of Don Diego de Almeyda. It conſiſted of about thirty ſail, with fifteen hundred ſoldiers on board, and was intended for a ſecret expedition, which, through various accidents, he found himſelf unable to execute. He therefore landed his men in the port of Anafe; and falling upon an army of the Moors, who were in the neighbourhood, unexpectedly, killed nine hundred, and made four hundred priſoners. The king being informed that theſe Moors were in rebellion againſt Muley Beljave, king of Fez, he ſent an ambaſſador to him to let him know that this armament was made for his ſervice; which intimation the Moor received with great reſpect, and promiſed to give his brother of Portugal any marks that were in his power of his gratitude, for a favour, which in effect he never received [b]. He alſo obtained from pope Innocent the Eighth, a bull for levying the duties known by the name of the croiſade, to defray the expences of his war with the infidels; but perhaps he paid more for it than it was worth, ſince, at the requeſt of the pontiff, he aboliſhed the cuſtom of reviſing and confirming the pope's bulls, by the ſtates, before they could be executed in
A.D.1487. Portugal [c]. About this time he ſent Don Pedro Covillan, and Don Alonſo Payva, to penetrate into the eaſtern countries by land; to ſend him an account of their diſcoveries; and to learn as diſtinctly as poſſible the principal commodities of thoſe countries, and from whence they came. It was by this well-judged expedient, and by the diligence ſhewn by theſe two gentlemen in the execution of it, that the king ſtood indebted for the finding a new paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by ſea. But with all his circumſpection and great abilities, he refuſed the ſupplies neceſſary for executing his project to Chriſtopher Columbus, who thereupon applied to queen Iſabella, at the ſiege of Granada, a circumſtance which procured to their Catholic majeſties their empire over the new world [d].

[a] Emanuel Tellez, Reſende, Vaſconcellos, Ferreras. [b] Reſende, Faria y Souſa, Lequien de la Neufville. [c] Le Clede. [d] Hernando de Pulgar, Ferreras, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

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As the house of Braganza were now exiles in Castile, and could not be supposed to render any services to king John and his affairs, in their reports of him to their Catholic majesties; and as there were many crowned heads desirous of allying themselves to so powerful a crown, by the marriage of Donna Isabella, or Elizabeth, into their families, they began gradually to let fall the design of giving this infanta to Don Alonso, prince of Portugal. King John, who looked upon that marriage as a point of great consequence, caused several places upon the frontiers of Castile to be repaired and fortified; and having put good garrisons into them, he began to construct a large and strong fortress at Olivenca. When he had thus alarmed them sufficiently, he sent an embassy to their Catholic majesties, in which he gave them to understand, that he had put all the ports and fortresses throughout his kingdom into the best state of defence possible, and had adorned and improved the great cities in his kingdom, which he presumed would be acceptable to their majesties, as their daughter would one day share the throne of Portugal, and reap the benefit of all his labours. In the mean time he carried on his scheme with so much diligence, that the works of Olivenca were completely finished; and the state of their affairs not allowing them to take another resolution, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella settled, with the best grace they could, the time and other circumstances relative to the marriage [e]. His success in Africa was by no means answerable to this good fortune. He intended to build a very strong fort at the mouth of the river Larache; and sent a fleet with forces to surprise the town of Gracioſa, a service which they performed; but they no sooner began to fortify it, than Muley, king of Fez, came down with an army of forty thousand horse, and invested it. The Christians, though the works were not half finished, defended themselves gallantly, and king John had once some thoughts of passing the sea in person for its relief; but the king of Fez proposing that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, the offer was accepted. To balance this disaster, there arrived a great number of ships richly laden from Guinea, which enabled and encouraged the king to augment his naval force, and to make great preparations in Algarve for

By what means he prevailed upon Ferdinand and Isabella to comply with their treaty, and to marry the infanta Isabella to the prince of Portugal.

[e] Bernaldez, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Garcias de Resende, Emanuel Tellez, Lequien de la Neufville.

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another expedition [f], the conquest of the whole coast being the object of his ambition.

Celebration of that marriage, and unfortunate death of that young prince.

As soon as king John was informed that the infanta Donna Isabella of Castile was set out from Seville, in order to enter his dominions, he appointed Don Emanuel, duke of Beja, to go with some of the principal nobility to receive her, on her passing the Zaya, which is the boundary between the two kingdoms. This ceremony was performed on the 22d of November, and the infanta conducted to the city of Evora, where her marriage with the prince Don Alonso was celebrated with much greater eclat than any thing of that kind had ever been, and a long train of feasts and diversions were fixed for six months to
A D. 1490. come [g]. In the month of May the court removed to Santeren, where all possible preparations had been made to render one of the pleasantest places in the world a perfect paradise; justs, bull-feasts, and other spectacles took up the day; and the evenings were either spent in sailing on the river Tagus, or in viewing the vessels that passed thereon, adorned with flags and streamers, and in dark nights illuminated with flambeaux, and listening to the excellent bands of music on board them. These scenes of joy, which had suffered some check by the death of the king's sister, the infanta Donna Joanna, and by the breaking out of the plague at Lisbon, were entirely overcast on the twelfth of July, when the prince, riding a short race with Don Juan de Meneses, his horse fell with him at full speed, and wounded him in so terrible a manner, that though he lived till the next day, yet he never recovered his senses. As this melancholy accident happened in the sight of his parents, and of his consort, it threw the court into the deepest melancholy possible [h]. The king caused the body to be removed to the monastery of Batalha, went thither afterwards in the month of August, to assist at a funeral office for his son; after which, his grief seized him in such a manner, that he shut himself up whole days, till, by the advice of his physicians, a natural son of his, named George, whom he had by Donna Agnes de Mendoza, was brought to him, and who, by degrees, allayed his
A.D. 1491. sorrow. But as minds, under the dominion of passion, are liable to very sudden changes, so it was not long be-

[f] Faria y Sousa, Vasconcellos.
[g] Pulgar, Christoval Ferreira y Sampayo, Vasconcellos.
[h] Garcias de Resende, Bernaldez, Esteven de Garibay, Emanuel Tellez, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

fore

fore the king laboured to perſuade his conſort to receive this boy into her favour, and treat him as if he had been her own ſon. Though, till that time, ſhe had been of all wives the moſt dutiful, yet in this point ſhe would never yield in the leaſt, as apprehending it might prejudice the juſt claim of her brother Don Emanuel, duke of Beja, who was now become the preſumptive ſucceſſor of the dominions of Portugal [i].

The king's endeavours to bring his natural ſon George into the ſucceſſion.

In the beginning of the ſucceeding year, the king returned to Liſbon, where he laid the foundation of one of the moſt magnificent hoſpitals in Europe. He likewiſe erected a new convent for the canoneſſes of the order of St. James, at the head of which he placed Donna Agnes de Mendoza, the mother of his ſon George; for whom he ſtill retained the greateſt tenderneſs poſſible; and notwithſtanding that he had felt the pulſe of the ſtates, when they ſent a committee to condole with him on the death of the prince, yet he could not totally relinquiſh all hopes of procuring him the ſucceſſion. To pave the way for his entire legitimation, he obtained a bull to capacitate him to hold the grand-maſterſhip of St. James, and the order of Avis, which he beſtowed upon him, though a child; but when he would have proceeded farther, and preſſed pope Alexander the Sixth to remove, as far as it was in his power, the defect in his ſon's birth, he had not only the mortification to find his propoſal rejected in a full conſiſtory; but to be told that the thing was impracticable, becauſe it would be an act of injuſtice towards the duke of Beja, the queen Donna Iſabella of Caſtile, and other princes and princeſſes of the royal blood. The king then ſaw plainly, that the oppoſition on this ſide was too ſtrong to be vanquiſhed. He endeavoured, however, by his own indulgence to make ſome amends for the inflexibility of the court of Rome, and to the great offices he had already beſtowed on his ſon George, he added the rich priory of Crato; which put him at the head of the order of Malta in his dominions [k]. Theſe indications of the king's favour, joined to the addreſs of a very accompliſhed governor, and the advantage of a plentiful revenue, did not fail to raiſe a party, though it was but a ſmall one, in favour of the king's darling; which diſguſted Don Emanuel, duke of Beja, to ſuch a degree, that, partly through

[i] Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede, Garcias de Reſende. Vaſconcellos, Chriſtoval Ferreira y Sampayo. [k] Faria y Souſa, Vaſconcellos.

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fear, and partly through chagrin, he thought proper to quit the court, and retire to his own eſtate. But notwithſtanding the king's thoughts were thus occupied, he gave various inſtances of attention to the public intereſt, and of the firmneſs of his mind wherever that was concerned. He made ſeveral excellent laws, reformed many abuſes, and vindicated the honour of his crown in a very remarkable inſtance. Some French corſairs had taken a Portugueſe caravel from Guinea, very richly laden; of which capture he was no ſooner informed, than he gave orders to Don Vaſco de Gama to make prizes of all the French ſhips he could, and to ſeize all that were in the ports of Portugal; which amounted to ten. The French monarch, Charles, was no ſooner acquainted with what had happened [l], and the cauſe of it, than he directed the caravel to be reſtored untouched, and made an apology for what had happened.

He is ſeized with an incurable diſeaſe, which is attributed to poiſon.

Upon the edict which baniſhed the Jews out of the dominions of their catholic majeſties, many of them, ſome ſay an incredible multitude, retired into Portugal; which it is ſuppoſed the king permitted for the ſake of the immenſe wealth they brought with them; but ſome inconveniencies being felt, and many more pretended, from their ſtay in the kingdom, they were ordered to retire in eight months [m]. The queen falling ill at Setubal, the king went thither in great haſte, and remained with her, as the duke of Beja, and the ducheſs of Bragança likewiſe did, till ſhe was out of danger. Whether it was through the fatigue of the journey, his great emotion of mind, or the unwholeſomeneſs of the ſeaſon, ſo it was, that the king fell extremely ill; and as ſeveral black ſpots appeared upon the body, a report prevailed, that he was poiſoned. As ſoon as he was in ſome meaſure able to bear the fatigue of the journey, he went to Evora: the air of which place he thought agreed better with him than any other. There he cauſed ſeveral experiments to be made for the perfecting mathematical inſtruments in his preſence; conferred with ſome experienced ſhip-builders about the different forms of veſſels, and gave inſtructions for building two fortreſſes, one at Caſcaes, and the other at Caparica, to cover the entrance of the bar of Liſbon: ſo that he might ſay truly of public affairs, that he made
A.D.1493. them equally his buſineſs and his amuſement. His health

[l] P. Daniel, Emanuel Tellez. [m] Garibay, Reſende, Bernaldez, La Neufville, Le Clede, Ferreras.

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ſtill declining, he ſent for Alvaro Pacheco and Stephen de Barras, men in whom he had the greateſt confidence, and ordered them to reſtore to the churches the plate, and a certain public fund, which had been taken by his father to defray the expence of the war with Caſtile. He likewiſe ordered an enquiry to be made for any debts of his father's, for he had none of his own, and directed them to be paid [n]. His punctuality in theſe matters was highly ſerviceable, as it rendered it by his example the faſhion.

In the midſt of his pains and infirmities applies himſelf to affairs of ſtate.

The king's diſeaſe, according to the beſt hiſtorians, was a complication of diſtempers, which at length iſſued in a dropſy; from which in the beginning of the year he had ſome relaxation; and ſome there were about him who began to entertain hopes of his perfect recovery. He would have enjoyed this interval of eaſe in a higher degree, and perhaps it would have laſted longer, if he had not been vexed by the breaking out of a famine at Evora. This was not owing to any ſcarcity, but to the avarice of ſome rich men; who taking advantage of the court's being there, and having previouſly bought up all the corn, kept it at a high rate. The king endeavoured to reduce it by an edict, requiring it to be ſold at a juſt price. The monopolizers, who had as little loyalty as charity, would not ſell at all; an obſtinacy which provoked the king to a great degree. He ſhewed what is rarely ſeen, his wiſdom and his reſentment at the ſame time. He forbid by an edict the buying of corn from any Portugueſe merchants on pain of death: by the ſame edict he took off all duties, and gave a bounty on corn brought in by ſtrangers; a ſtep which produced plenty to the people, and abſolutely broke the engroſſers [o]. At this time Columbus, returning from America, was forced, with his ſquadron, into Portugal. The king no ſooner heard of it, than he ſent for him; and though he knew that great man was prejudiced againſt him, he treated him with great generoſity and kindneſs; and protected him from the ill will of ſome who would have diſpatched him. The king had ſo true a love for merit, that when he heard Silveira, who was the manager of the duke of Viſeo's conſpiracy, was come into Caſtile, he ſaid, "Silveira has ſo much knowlege, parts, and eloquence, that he will be well received wherever he is." In the ſummer he relapſed, and was adviſed to go into Algarve. There he met with Alonſo Silva, who came as

[n] Garcias de Reſende, Chriſtoval Ferreira y Sampayo. [o] Emanuel Tellez, Vaſconcellos, Lequien de la Neufville.

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ambaſſador from king Ferdinand, and whoſe principal buſineſs was to inform his maſter how long the king of Portugal might live. The king cauſed him to be introduced while he was looking at ſome horſes, when ſtriking one of them ſmartly on the back, "This arm, Don Alonſo, ſaid he, has ſtill ſtrength enough to fight a battle or two;" and after a pauſe of a minute, "againſt the Moors." The Caſtilian eaſily apprehended the king's meaning, and anſwered very politely. "My maſter will be very well pleaſed with theſe good news; and yet more pleaſed when I ſhall acquaint him, that your majeſty's health is grown ſtill better." He demanded afterwards, and obtained a private audience: in which he opened Ferdinand's deſire, that the king ſhould enter into the league with Italy; for which he offered him many plauſible reaſons. In anſwer to this, he gave him a long and full account of the ſtate of things in that country, entered into the characters and views of all the princes engaged on both ſides, and concluded with telling him, he had as much ambition as any of them: "but my ambition, ſaid he, is of a different
A.D.1494. kind. I mean to be a great king as well as they; but I go a ſhorter road to be a great king: I am for making my own a great nation. For this reaſon in the vigour of my life I never engaged in any of theſe alliances: I ſhall not do it in my decline; but I will be always ready to act as a mediator, and I am the fitter to act in that character as I am totally diſintereſted. This you may tell your maſter, which is all you will ever have to tell him; for I am not given to change my reſolutions." But when he perceived that Alonſo did not leave Portugal, he ordered him to retire to Eſtremos; where he had him ſo well watched, that he knew the contents of every diſpatch he ſent to Caſtile [p].

His anxiety about his ſon to the laſt; his death and character.

As king John felt in himſelf a gradual decay, he became more and more uneaſy about the ſucceſſion. He ordered therefore a teſtament to be drawn, in which he ſet forth his ſentiments on this and on various other topics; but directed a blank to be left for the name of the ſucceſſor, unable to bear the thoughts of relinquiſhing his ſon, and at the ſame time as unable to deviſe any probable means for ſecuring to him what he had a mind to leave. At length in a fit of tenderneſs he ordered his ſecretary Antonio de Faria to fill up the blank with the name of George: but that ſecretary, who was a man of parts and

[p] Chriſtoval Ferreira y Sampayo, Emanuel Telles, Le Clede, Garcias de Reſende.

probity

probity, refused to do it. He told him, that it was against justice, and against reason; that the queen, the nobility, and the people were unanimously for the duke of Beja; and that by obeying his commands, George, instead of becoming his successor, would become a sacrifice. This conduct was the more extraordinary, as Faria had a principal hand in the detection of the duke of Viseo's conspiracy, was sure of being disgraced, and not sure of saving his life, on the duke of Beja's succession. His example, however, determined the king; and having commended his firmness, he ordered him to insert the duke's name in the will [q]. He continued to linger long after it was signed; and though he sent for the duke more than once when he drew towards his end, yet, through fear and distrust, he did not arrive till he was dying, or as some say, till he was dead. He added a codicil, by which he declared his son duke of Coimbra, and gave him all the lands and estates of Don Pedro, who had formerly enjoyed that title. He demised on the twenty-fifth of October 1495, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign, less hated than he had been by the nobility, but admired, and even adored by the people [r]. His device was a pelican feeding her young with her blood, with these words Pro lege et grege, i. e. *For the constitution and the commons.* It was truly said of his father and of him, that one was a better man than a king, and the other a better king than a man. He fixed, however, the grandeur of Portugal, and left Vasco de Gama on the point of sailing for the discovery of the Indies. His parts, or rather his abilities, eclipsed those of his predecessors, and in return were eclipsed by the virtues and the fortune of his successor.

SECT. V.

The Reign of Emanuel, surnamed the Fortunate.

Accession of Emanuel.

AT the time of his accession to the throne, Don Emanuel was with the queen his sister at Alcaçar-do-Sal, where he caused himself to be proclaimed, as soon as he was assured of the death of his predecessor [s]. He had in-

[q] Lequien de la Neufville, Faria y Sousa, le Clede, Vasconcellos, Garcias de Resende. [r] Christoval Ferreira y Sampayo, Emanuel Tellez, Elogios dos Reis de Portugal, Mayerne Turquet. [s] Lequien de la Neufville Histoire generale de Portugal, le Clede, Mariana, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

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deed all the titles that he could wish: he was the next heir by blood: he was recognized as such by the late king in his will: he had the hearts of the nobility, and the voice of the people: he was in the twenty-sixth year of his age; agreeable in his person; courteous in his behaviour; and universally beloved for that generosity which his vast estate enabled him to shew, even in a private condition. He came to the crown, therefore, and entered into the possession of the dominions of Portugal, peaceably and without the least opposition, though there was a pretender to the crown, whose claim was never considered by any body but himself. This competitor was the emperor Maximilian, whose mother was the sister, as Don Emanuel's father was the brother, of the king Don Alonso. He pleaded, therefore, that standing exactly in the same degree, he ought to be preferred to the duke of Beja, as being an older and a greater man; but this claim had no manner of weight with the Portuguese: on the contrary, they shewed the utmost eagerness in congratulating their new king, who received every body with the greatest kindness; promised much in general, but would not enter into any particular engagements. He ordered the body of his deceased predecessor to be transferred to Silves, till it could be removed to the royal abbey of Batalha; demanded of all the ministers a distinct account of their respective departments, using his private fortune, till whatever regarded the public finances, could be adjusted, and neglected nothing that could spread universal satisfaction, and dispose the bulk of the nation to love him as their benefactor, though they might not reverence and admire him as they did their late king, of whose loss they spoke as a thing that must be endured, though it could never be repaired. In this conduct he succeeded so well, that every thing remained quiet, and the people pleased[t] (A).

One

[t] Cronica do feliciſſimo Rey Don Emanuel composta, per Damian de Goes.

(A) This prince was the grandson of king Edward, the nephew of Alonso the Fifth, and cousin to John the Second, his predecessor. He was the third son of the infant Don Ferdinand, duke of Viseo, by Donna Beatrix, the daughter of the infant Don Juan. His brother being killed by king John, he came into the possession of his estates, and by the king's desire assumed the title, not of Viseo, but of Beja. As he grew to man's estate, he discovered the most amiable qualities;

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One of the first acts of his government was, to call an assembly of the states at Monte-Mor-o-Novo, that every thing might have their sanction, and that he might the better judge of the temper of his new subjects. In this assembly a law was made, for appointing commissioners to inquire into the grants of the late king, and the services rendered by those who had obtained them; an augmentation of the number of judges, that justice might be the more speedily and effectually administered; with some others of less importance [u]. He gave very early marks of his intention to act on a very different principle from that which had governed king John; and this was reviving the power of the nobility, with whose arms, in conjunction with his own, and those of the princes of the blood, he caused his halls and dining rooms to be adorned, that the populace might be gradually drawn to reverence and esteem them: a conduct publicly applauded, but privately disapproved. We have before observed, that the Jews were admitted into Portugal in the late reign, for which favour they paid a heavy capitation tax. Not being able, or not being willing, to transport themselves abroad within the time given them, they had been actually made slaves, and distributed through all Portugal, by the command of king John. To these afflicted people the king extended his mercy, restored them to their liberty, and fixed a new time for their departure. In gratitude for this favour, they would have given him a sum of money, but Don Emanuel very generously refused it [x]. Their

Wise precautions, attended by happy events.

[u] Lequien de la Neufville, le Clede, Faria y Sousa, Vasconcellos, Ferreras. [x] Hieronymus Osorius de rebus Emanuelis Regis Lusitaniæ, Damian de Goes, Mayerne Turquet.

lities; his disposition was mild and humane; his temper naturally grave, but accompanied with an agreeable sweetness and easy affability. He was extremely punctual in every thing; rose rather before day, and after he had performed his devotions, dispatched whatever business he had to do, and then diverted himself in hunting, shooting, or tennis. He was magnificent in his house, and very elegant in his table; but at the same time very temperate, abstaining wholly from wine. He loved music and conversation, more especially as to the mathematical sciences, travels, voyages, and discoveries (1.)

(1) Elogios dos Reis de Portugal. Manuel de Faria y Sousa Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas. Cronica do felicissimo Rey Don Emanuel composta, por Damian de Goes.

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catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, sent very early an embassy to compliment the new king, to assure him of their friendship and alliance, and to propose a marriage with the princess Mary their daughter. The king treated these ministers with great respect, assured them it was his settled intention to maintain the peace between the two nations; but insinuated, that it was time enough to think of marriage; and that when the time came he would intimate his inclinations to their majesties, who were not ignorant of the meaning of this insinuation; and that it respected their daughter Isabella[y]. Amongst those who came to pay their addresses to the king, came Don George, who was presented to him by the grand commander Don Diego Almeyda. He was then about fourteen years of age, and had so strong a resemblance to the king his father, that when Don Emanuel had looked upon him a little time, he burst out into tears, and promised to do for him all he could desire or expect[z]. The king's behaviour encouraged the nobility; so that many of them who were under great obligations to king John, came and kissed his son's hand, which in this country is the highest mark of respect. The youth received them with great dignity, and expressed the same affection and obedience to the king, as if he had been his son, and had the like honours paid him as in the former reign. The king likewise sent his ambassadors to foreign princes, caused supplies and recruits to be transported into Barbary, and had the satisfaction of learning that the revolt had been happily suppressed there, and a great victory gained over the Moors, which he looked upon as a fair omen of the succeeding glories of his reign[a].

A.D.1495.

Restores the family of Braganza to their rank, titles, and estates.

As the plague continued at Lisbon, the king, as well for the sake of pleasure as for the preservation of his health, went to Setubal, where he met with his mother and his two sisters, who pressed him very warmly to restore the family of Braganza to his favour and their estates, to which measure he consented. This was far from being universally pleasing, though the king took all possible measures to prevent its giving just offence; for he gave those who were benefited by the forfeitures of this family, equivalents with which they were fully satisfied, and assured his council he did not do it with a view of

[y] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Damian de Goes, Osorius, Ferreras, Mariana. [z] Faria y Sousa. [a] Lequien de la Neufville.

throwing

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throwing any imputation on his predeceſſor's juſtice, but from a perſuaſion that children ought not to ſuffer for the offences of their parents. Some of his miniſters took the liberty of repreſenting, that he not only acted contrary to the maxims of his predeceſſor, but impoveriſhed the crown to purchaſe eſtates for thoſe he recalled; that he adminiſtered fuel to factions and diſcontents; and that the nobility, encouraged by this act of clemency, would begin afreſh to perſecute and oppreſs the common people. But the influence of the ladies prevailed; and Don Diego, duke of Bragança, was fully reinſtated in his titles and fortune[b]. The king was likewiſe deſirous of recalling cardinal da Coſta from Rome, where he had reſided during the reign of king John, though under that of his father he had been in great credit. At firſt he liſtened to the king's propoſition, and had ſome thoughts of returning to his native country; but, upon mature deliberation, he acquainted the king, that he ſhould be able to render him more ſervice where he was, and that his infirmities made it very inconvenient for him to leave Rome. Don Alvaro, uncle to the duke of Bracança, was employed by the king to negociate his marriage with the princeſs-dowager of Portugal, Donna Iſabella, either becauſe Emanuel was enamoured of her, or becauſe he judged it probable ſhe might become the heireſs of Caſtile and Arragon, and conſequently his iſſue by her, poſſeſſors of all Spain, and the moſt powerful monarchs in Europe. A.D.1496.

Don Ferdinand and Donna Iſabella ſeemed very well inclined to this marriage, from which, however, they thought to draw this advantage, that to purchaſe their daughter, Don Emanuel ſhould enter into a league with them againſt Charles the Eighth, king of France; but the king, though very deſirous of a wife, would not purchaſe her upon ſuch terms, becauſe there had been always a good correſpondence between the two crowns, and the Portugueſe were great gainers by their commerce; but he went ſo far as to promiſe, that if the French king ſhould act offenſively, and enter Spain with an army, he would aſſiſt their majeſties to expel them. He was not ſo much upon his guard againſt the lady, who pretended that ſhe had an utter averſion to Portugal, from the grief that ſhe had ſuſtained there; that to marry a ſecond time was beneath a princeſs of her rank; and that ſhe could not give her *Eſpouſes Donna Iſabella.*

[b] Faria y Souſa, Damian de Goes, Oſorius, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana, Le Clede.

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hand to one who was a protector of the Jews[c]. It was therefore proposed that those people should be expelled. The wiser and better part of the council opposed this, as a measure that would be detrimental to the state, as well as inconsistent with the king's own promise to these unhappy people. Don Emanuel was desirous of pleasing both parties. By a new edict he gave the Jews leave to depart within a certain time, assigned them different ports where they were to embark, then reduced them to Lisbon only, disappointed them in furnishing ships, and by these steps obliging them to elapse the time, punished them with slavery for not doing what it was impossible they should do; but afterwards, as if it had been a mere grace and favour, they had the space of twenty years allowed them for their thorough conversion to Christianity, though, in appearance, they were all obliged to become Christians immediately; and, upon accepting this offer, their children were restored to them, which had been taken from them, in order to prevent their embarking; a severity which they bore so ill, that multitudes murdered their children to prevent their being made slaves to the Christians; and not a few, out of the horror of having done this, murdered themselves likewise; so that it is no wonder that when any expedient was proposed by which both their liberty and their children might be preserved, A.D.1297. they readily embraced it[d]. Many of the writers who relate this circumstance admire the wisdom, but most of them commend the zeal and firmness of the king; though it must be admitted, that the learned prelate of Algarve, and a few others, have treated this measure in the manner it deserved, and have expressed their amazement that it could ever be thought consistent with the principles of true religion and sound policy[e]. In consequence of this expedient, the blood and sentiments of the Portuguese nobility have been corrupted, and the severe tribunal of the inquisition made necessary to keep numbers in a state of religious hypocrisy, without ever making perhaps one true Christian. After the point had been fully debated in council, the king took a resolution of prosecuting the discovery of the Indies; and gave the command of four vessels, appointed for that expedition, to Vasco de Gama, who sailed on the 9th of July, and happily accomplished

[c] Zurita Annal. Arragon, Bernaldez. Carvajal, Garibay. [d] Le-quien de la Neufville, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede. [e] Jo. Petri Maffæi, S. I. Historiarum Indicarum, libri xvi. fol.

it,

it. In the autumn the king made a tour into Valentia, and there espoused the infanta Donna Isabella, at the very same time that her brother Don Juan, prince of Asturias, expired at Salamanca, by which death she became the heiress of her parents dominions. As mirth and mourning could not well agree, as soon as the news of the prince's death was made public, the king Don Emanuel, with his bride, having taken leave of her mother, returned into their own dominions.

An excellent code of laws, and other beneficial constitutions by this monarch.

As many inconveniencies had been experienced by the clashing of jurisdictions, and as these had been hitherto settled by occasional inspections, of which there were but few records, the king caused a survey to be made of his whole dominions, and the bounds of every jurisdiction were therein distinctly settled, the whole being divided into five books; from whence it seems probable that Algarve was excluded. The queen becoming pregnant, their majesties were invited into Castile. After having held the states of Portugal at Lisbon, and received a new oath of fidelity, they set out for Toledo, where the states of Castile being assembled, the queen of Portugal was acknowleged for the presumptive heir[f]. Their majesties then proceeded with the like view to Saragossa; where, on the 24th of August, Donna Isabella of Portugal was delivered of the prince Don Michael, and expired an hour afterwards[g]. Upon this event Don Emanuel resolved to return into his own dominions, having first agreed to send ambassadors to Rome, who, in conjunction with those of their catholic majesties, were to admonish pope Alexander the Sixth of the scandalous life he led, and to exhort him to behave for the future with more moderation and decency. The Portuguese ambassadors were Don Rodrigo de Castro and Don Henry de Coutino, men of great quality, and consummate prudence. They prosecuted, therefore, the instructions they had received very exactly; but the pope answered them so smartly, and they were so well apprized of his true character, that they judged it convenient to withdraw as soon as possible out of his reach[h].

A.D. 1498.

The discovery of the Indies by Vasco de Gama.

In order to satisfy the demands of their catholic majesties, the king caused his son Don Michael to be acknowleged by the states the heir of that kingdom, as he

[f] Garibay, Carvajal, Mayerne Turquet. Zurita Annal. Arragon, Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede, Ferreras. [h] Du Chesne Hist. des Papes, Osorius, Mariana.

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had been in Caſtile and Arragon; but at the ſame time he promiſed upon oath, and gave it under his hand, that no Caſtilian ſhould be capable of any preferment, eccleſiaſtical or civil, within the kingdom of Portugal. This young prince dying ſoon after, put an end to all fears that this promiſe might not be duly executed. The king his father applied himſelf with great vigilance and vigour to the care of the adminiſtration, and attended more eſpecially to juſtice and the finances. The fleet of Vaſco de Gama returning from the Indies, filled Liſbon with joy, and the reſt of Europe with aſtoniſhment. He performed the voyage in ſomething more than two years; but of one hundred and forty-eight perſons, which made up the complement of his ſquadron, he brought home but fifty-five. The king received him with all poſſible teſtimonies of reſpect and kindneſs, created him count of Videgueira, and not only declared him admiral of the Indies, but made that office hereditary in his family, that the reputation and reward of his diſcovery might go together[i].

A.D. 1499. As he had now ſome leiſure, Don Manuel took this opportunity of removing the body of his predeceſſor from the town of Silves in Algarve, where it had been depoſited after his deceaſe, to the monaſtery of Batalha, where a beautiful tomb of white marble had been erected to his memory[k]. At his return he cauſed a great quantity of gold and ſilver to be coined, and ordered a numerous ſquadron to be fitted out for maintaining and extending the newly opened trade to the Eaſt Indies[l]; that what prudence had acquired might be ſecured by ſpirit.

The king promotes the ſon of his predeceſſor.

As the ſon of the late king was now arrived at man's eſtate, Don Emanuel thought it high time to perform what his father ſeemed to expect from him at his hands: he therefore cauſed him to marry on the 25th of May, Donna Beatrix de Velena, the daughter of Don Alvaro of Portugal, brother to Don Ferdinand, and uncle to Diego, duke of Bragança; and upon this occaſion declared that young prince duke of Coimbra, with all the lands and revenues which had formerly accompanied that title. At the ſame time he created his nephew, Don Alonſo, the ſon of the duke of Viſeo, whom king John killed with his own hand, conſtable of Portugal, and gave him in marriage Donna Joanna de Norogno, the daughter of

[i] Maffæi Hiſt. Indic. Oſorius. Lequien de la Neufville. [k] Faria y Souſa. Le Clede. [l] Oſorius.

Don

Don Pedro de Meneſes, marquis of Villa Real [m]. This young nobleman, though very high born on the ſide of his father, is ſuppoſed to have been as well deſcended on the ſide of his mother, who was a Caſtilian lady of ſuch quality that the hiſtorians of thoſe times did not think it expedient to tranſmit her name to poſterity. The king being without children, and a widower, was continually preſſed by the nobility to a ſecond marriage. With this view he had been for ſome time treating with their catholic majeſties for the infanta Donna Maria, whom he declined when ſhe was offered him before; which treaty was at length brought to an iſſue, and the marriage portion fixed at two hundred thouſand crowns, with an annuity of ten thouſand, eſtabliſhed on the revenues of the port of Seville [n]. At this time the king meditated a formidable expedition againſt the Moors in Barbary, with a numerous fleet, and an army of twenty-ſix thouſand men. This he intended to command in perſon, nor could the advice of the nobility, or the intreaties of his new queen, prevail upon him to lay aſide this reſolution. But the Ve- A.D. 1500.
netians having repreſented to him, that the Turkiſh emperor Bajazet threatened their ſtate with deſtruction, and was about to attack them with the whole force of his empire, the king very generouſly relinquiſhed the plan he had laid for raiſing his own reputation, and declaring, that the ſafety of his allies, and the intereſt of Chriſtendom, were infinitely dearer to him than his own glory, he ordered a ſquadron of thirty ſail, with a proportionable number of troops, to join the fleet of the republic, in order to act againſt the Turks [o].

He ſhews the like regard for the duke of Braganca.

The king being very deſirous of promoting to the utmoſt the welfare of his nephew the duke of Bragança, whom he looked upon as his preſumptive heir, laboured to find out a fit match for him, as the moſt effectual means of diverting that melancholy with which he was afflicted ſometimes, to ſuch a degree, that forgetting to take proper ſuſtenance, he was in danger of being loſt for want of food. At length the king fixed on Donna Leonora de Guzman, daughter to the duke of Medina Sidonia, whom, in obedience to his majeſty's commands, Don Diego married; but ſoon after diſappeared, and left a letter for the king, in which he deſired that his majeſty would beſtow his honours and eſtates on his brother Don

[m] Damian de Goes. [n] Petri Martyr Epiſt. Garibay, Ferreras.
[o] Damian de Goes.

Denis

Denis, as he was determined to travel to, and spend the reſt of his days at Jeruſalem. Don Emanuel, however, cauſed him to be ſo carefully ſought after, that he was diſcovered in the kingdom of Arragon, and ſent back; when the king received him with ſo much affection, that he was prevailed upon to lay aſide the ſcheme he had formed; and lived ever after in a manner ſuitable to his birth and quality [p]. The ſquadron ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Venetians ſtood firſt over to the Barbary ſhore; and attempted to ſurprize Mazalquivir; but the Moors making a gallant reſiſtance, and the Portugueſe having ſuffered ſome loſs, Don Juan de Meneſes, count of Tarouca, thought it beſt to purſue his voyage; and after ſcouring the coaſts of Sardinia and Calabria, he bore away for the iſland of Corfu, where the Venetian fleet was to rendezvous. There his ſoldiers beginning to intrigue with the women of the country, the inhabitants fell upon them and killed ſeventy. However, the Venetian and Portugueſe fleets joining, and going in ſearch of the Turkiſh force, Bajazet thought fit to drop his deſign, and to order his fleet to return into port. Soon after, the Portugueſe ſquadron ſet ſail for Liſbon; and after them arrived an ambaſſador from the republic, to acknowlege, and thank the
A.D.1501. king for this timely and effectual ſuccour [q]. This year Pedro Alvarez de Cabral diſcovered in his paſſage to India, the noble country of Brazil, in South America, and having anchored in Porto Seguro, took poſſeſſion of it for the crown of Portugal, to which it ſtill belongs. The king alſo founded, in the neighbourhood of Liſbon, the famous monaſtery of Bethlehem, juſtly eſteemed one of the fineſt ediſices in Portugal [r] (C).

The

[p] Faria y Souſa, Le Clede, La Neufville. [q] Damian de Goes. [r] Faria y Souſa.

(C) The proper name of this noble foundation is Bethlehem, but the Portugueſe ſpell and pronounce it Bellem. There is a town, a monaſtery, and a fort, all of this name, which lie between four and five miles from Liſbon, on the river Tagus; but the monaſtery gave its name to the other two. The cloiſter belongs to the order of St. Jerom, capable of holding two hundred monks, who have very ſpacious and airy apartments, which look either upon the ſea, or upon beautiful orange-gardens, that equally charm the ſight and ſmell. The revenue of this convent amounts to about eight thouſand ducats; and beſides thoſe vaſt and elegant gardens, that

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The king, though the commerce of the Indies had not as yet produced any thing comparable to the expectations that had been formed from it, continued to send squadrons thither well manned, and with great ſtore of naval and military proviſions, not doubting that in proceſs of time it would amply repay that expence. He alſo continued to meditate an expedition of more importance into Barbary than had been made by any of his predeceſſors. To this he was inſtigated by the memoirs left by king John; in which it was inſinuated, that the oppoſite coaſts of Africa were firſt to be conquered, then covered by fortreſſes, next adorned with cities and ſea-ports; to theſe inhabitants might be drawn by gentle laws, and extenſive privileges, which would gradually produce a communication between the interior parts of the country and ſtrangers reſorting to the cities and havens, to the inconceivable benefit of the ſubjects of Portugal. He laboured alſo to repair and reſtore ſuch places as were in a manner depopulated by the plague, and by reviewing the charters of the principal cities and towns in his dominions, to redreſs what, through a change of cuſtoms, was become grievous; to ſupply defects, and to inſert new privileges[*]. While he was thus employed, the queen, on the 6th of June, was delivered of a prince, in the midſt of one of the moſt violent ſtorms that was ever felt or heard; and as

Engages in a war with the Moors, and upon what motives.

[*] Oſorius, Maffoei Hiſt. Indic.

that ſerve for pleaſure and amuſement, there is a very large park, capable of ſupplying them with corn, wine, and fruits of every kind. There is in its vicinity another building, large, neat, and wonderfully convenient, into which are received all ſuch gentlemen as have ſpent their lives in the king's ſervice, without acquiring wherewith to maintain themſelves. At their admittance they receive the order of Chriſt, which is the moſt noble in Portugal; and, during the remainder of their lives, enjoy every thing that can render their decline comfortable. Over againſt the church and cloiſter, but in the middle of the river, there ſtands a large ſquare tower, which may be conſidered as the citadel of Liſbon, as all ſhips that paſs are obliged to ſalute it, and to produce their bills of health at their arrival, and proper certificates when they depart. The place of arms is extremely well fortified, and ſupplied with artillery. The lower ſtories of the fort are employed as magazines, and the upper furniſh apartments for priſoners of ſtate. The village or town of Bellem has riſen from the great reſort to the places already deſcribed.

this

this, according to the superstition of those times, gave birth to many strange notions, so these were strengthened and increased when the prince came to be baptized, on account of a fire breaking out in the palace, which threw all things into confusion [t]. The king, full of piety, according to the mode of those times, made a solemn pilgrimage
A.D.1502. to the shrine of St. James, at Compostella. In his passage thither, he directed the finishing a most beautiful tomb in the city of Porto for St. Pantaleo, the patron of that place, which had been begun by the late king [u]. At the cathedral of St. James, he left a noble silver lamp, in the shape of a castle, valuable from its weight, much more so from its workmanship; and distinguished himself by liberally relieving the poor wherever he went. In his return through Coimbra, he saw there the sepulchre of Don Alonso, the first king of Portugal, with the meanness of which he was so much affected, that he directed a new one, worthy of himself, and of the memory of the great prince whose remains were to rest therein. The fleet he had sent to Africa, with orders to reduce a certain fortress, returned without doing any thing. Nevertheless, he was received upon his return to Lisbon with all possible marks of satisfaction and joy.

Progress of the war in Africa.

The new project which the king had formed for going in person to Africa, was frustrated by the breaking out of a famine in his own dominions; by which he was obliged to divide his fleet into small squadrons, in order to send them to the coast of Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, France, Great Britain, Germany, and the North, to bring in supplies of corn, without which his people must have been famished. This misfortune did not hinder him from sending some missionaries over to Congo, with instructions to civilize the people, and to bring them as much as possible to relish their own manners and way of living; and to engage the king to send over some of his sons to be educated at Lisbon, that by extending these notions their commerce with that kingdom, which was very beneficial, might be increased. By the return of Vasco de Gama, who had been sent again into the Indies, with a very rich cargo, an end was put to all the objections and suspicions concerning that trade: the importance of which was now become conspicuous even to the meanest understanding [w]. The king had di-

[t] Damian de Goes, Osorius, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras, Caribay, Carvajal, Ferreras. [u] Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [w] Maffei Hist. Indic. Osorius.

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rected Don Juan de Meneſes and the count de Tarouca to reduce the fortreſs of Alcaçer-quivir, which the king of Fez had augmented with a view to bridle Arzila; and they attempted it, and ſhewed in that attempt all the courage and ſkill poſſible, but without effect; for, in truth, their force bore no proportion to the undertaking. At home A.D.1503. Don Emanuel called an aſſembly of the ſtates at Liſbon; where, notwithſtanding affairs were but in an untoward ſituation, yet their deſire of obliging that monarch was ſo ſtrong, that they granted him all he demanded; together with a free gift of fifty thouſand cruzadoes for the war in Africa: they likewiſe acknowleged Don Juan in quality of heir apparent [x]. On the 4th of October, the queen was delivered of the infanta Iſabella, afterwards empreſs and queen of Caſtile and Arragon [y]. As ſoon as the ſtates ſeparated, the king went to Tomar, where he held a chapter of the order of Chriſt, and reformed many abuſes.

Don Emanuel was extremely affected by the death of his nephew the conſtable, who left behind him an only daughter, who married into the houſe of Villa Real; but this loſs did not affect the public ſo much as that of the queen's mother, Donna Iſabella of Caſtile [z]; for Don Emanuel being well apprized of the character of the archduke Philip, and of thoſe about him, began to entertain ſo ſlender an opinion of his friendſhip, that he gave orders for repairing all the ſtrong places on the frontiers towards Caſtile. It is not, however, certain, that he carried his ſuſpicion of this prince ſo high as to enter into any negociation with Don Ferdinand, king of Arragon, in order to a marriage between him and the unfortunate Donna Joanna, who had formerly borne the title of queen of Caſtile. In Africa Don Juan Meneſes forced the Mooriſh port at the mouth of the river Larache, and carried out ſhips that lay therein, which, with other excurſions by land, very deſervedly raiſed his character, but did not much advance the deſign of Don Emanuel, or any other ſolid and valuable purpoſe. On the laſt day of the year the queen was deli- A.D. 1504. vered of the infanta Donna Beatrix, who became afterwards ducheſs of Savoy [a].

Death of the queen's mother.

As the ſituation of things in India required a ſuperior force, the king cauſed a better fleet, and a greater number of troops to be ſent thither, under the command of Don

[x] Damian de Goes. [y] Faria y Souſa, Ferreras. [z] Peter Martyr Epiſt. Bernaldez, Garibay, Zurita Annal. Arragon. [a] Faria y Souſa, Oſorius, Ferreras.

Franciſco

The ſoltan of Egypt threatens Portugal and Caſtile.

Franciſco de Almada, than at any time before; and if it had not been for his conſummate prudence, in this reſpect, it is highly probable the Portugueſe would have been expelled almoſt as ſoon as they had entered India; for the Mohammedan princes there, and particularly the king of Aben, who pretended to be deſcended from their prophet, applied to Campſon, ſultan of the Mamalukes in Egypt, requeſting him to protect them againſt the Chriſtians. At the ſame time there were at the court of the ſultan ambaſſadors from the republic of Venice, who likewiſe prompted him to drive the Portugueſe out of the Indies; and who, to render this ſervice the more practicable, ſupplied him with engineers to caſt cannon, and to build ſhips in the ports of the Red Sea. By their advice alſo the ſultan ſent a monk, whoſe name was Maurus, with letters to the pope, then Julius II. complaining bitterly of the conqueſt of Granada by Don Ferdinand, and the expedition of Don Emanuel into Africa and the Indies, threatening to make repriſals on the Chriſtians, and intimating, that unleſs he had ſatisfaction, he might not find himſelf ſafe even at Rome. The pope ſent copies of theſe letters to Liſbon and to Madrid; but neither of the kings ſeemed to be much affected: on the contrary, they exhorted his holineſs to do his duty, and publiſh a cruſade, which would infallibly furniſh a number of men ſufficient to defend him againſt all his enemies [b]. In the aſſembly of the ſtates held this year, many good laws were made for encouraging induſtry and frugality, and for preſerving equality among the people. Amongſt theſe there was one very remarkable: the king forbad hoſpitals to purchaſe lands without licence, under ſevere penalties; becauſe it was diſcovered, that, taking advantage of people's neceſſities, they purchaſed on every ſide, and as they had no power of ſelling, were amaſſing vaſt eſtates [c]. About this time arrived from the Indies Duarte Pacheco, who had performed there actions almoſt beyond the power, or the belief of man. The king, to ſhew how much he eſteemed virtue, did him the higheſt honours, and not only cauſed a thankſgiving to be celebrated for his victories, but made him walk by his ſide to church upon that occaſion. Underſtanding that honour was all that he had brought with him from the Indies, he appointed him governor of the caſtle St. George del Mina, upon the coaſt of Guinea;

[b] Maffoei Hiſt. Indie. Oſorius, Damian de Goes, Ferreras.
[c] Faria y Souſa, Le Clede.

where,

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where, performing his duty exactly, some envious persons accused him of such atrocious crimes, that he was ordered home in irons, long confined, at last tried, and acquitted[d]; and left innocent and indigent to the contemplation of that ancient maxim, "Virtue is its own reward." So easily are even the best princes misled by flatterers. While the king fled from place to place for fear of the plague, which was brought into Portugal by the pope's ambassador, some excursions were made in Barbary, but of no great consequence; from whence the king was more and more confirmed in his opinion, that his great design could not be carried into execution but by transporting a considerable force, and making a considerable conquest at once, towards the expence of which he had received a bull of crusade. A.D. 1505.

The court being at Abrantes to avoid the infection, there happened a dismal misfortune at Lisbon, where some zealous persons observing in a church, that the glass which covered a hole in the side of a crucifix seemed to shine, cried out, "A miracle!" A Jew, who had been but lately converted, happened unluckily to say it was the reflection of the sun beams, which fell from an opposite window. In consequence of this explanation, two seditious monks exciting the people to take vengeance of the Jews, they murdered about five hundred of them that day. The men from on board some French and Dutch ships in the river landed and joined the mob, and bringing with them a new spirit of devotion, which directed them to the richest houses, without making any distinction of Jew, or Christian, murdered and plundered without mercy. A recruit of villains of the same stamp out of the villages, entered Lisbon, and committed the most horrid outrages during the third day: so that in the whole, there perished upwards of two thousand persons, the most part Jews. The king being informed of this commotion, sent commissioners, with a corps of troops to support them. On a strict enquiry, the magistrates were deposed, such of the ringleaders as could be found were hanged, the two monks degraded, and burnt, and the city deprived of all its privileges. As for the French and Dutch, who had been the most active, as soon as they had loaded their ships with plunder, they sailed away, and thereby escaped the due reward of so infamous an action[e]. While their majesties A.D. 1506.

Dangerous sedition at Lisbon.

[d] Lequien de la Neufville. [e] Osorius, Damian de Goes, Mariana, Zurita, Ferreras.

were

were at Abrantes, the queen was delivered of the infant Don Lewis. The king being informed of the arrival of the arch-duke Philip in Spain, sent to compliment him, a measure which was very well received. In Africa, the Portuguese commanders, who began to be as great proficients in intrigue as the Moors themselves, surprised the port of Saffir, which they kept and fortified, esteeming it a very considerable conquest [f].

Affairs in dispute with Castile, left to the determination of commissaries on both sides.

By the king's great application to whatever regarded the extension of his power in the Indies, his influence in Congo, and the commerce of his subjects in Guinea, immense wealth was brought into Portugal, and the port of Lisbon grew one of the most considerable in Europe, notwithstanding the plague still prevailed. The king and court remained at Abrantes: there, on the fifth of July, the queen brought into the world the infant Don Ferdinand. Some disputes having arisen with the crown of Castile, in relation to their conquests in Africa, Don Emanuel applied to his father-in-law, to prevent things from coming to extremities, offering to leave all points in dispute to be settled by their commissaries, an offer which was accepted. The prince of Mequinez being driven out of his dominions, fled for shelter to Don Emanuel, and promised to put the strong city of Azemor into his hands, if he would intrust him with a proper force. The king consented to this request, and embarked four thousand horse, and two thousand foot for this expedition; which, however, came to nothing, and which some also place in the succeeding year. It had, however, one good effect, which was, that the king determined with himself not to confide any more in such renegades; and indeed hitherto all the conquests he had made in Barbary had been so expensive, that if the nation had not been enriched in another manner than formerly, they must have been abandoned [g].

A.D. 1507.

The Castilians and Arragonians generously succour the Portuguese in Africa.

As the famous Albuquerque was now in the Indies, the concerns of the Portuguese prospered to their wish, and the advantages derived from thence enabled Don Emanuel to gratify his passion for building, and indeed for every other branch of magnificence [h]. The commissaries that had been appointed to treat with the Castilians, came at last to this agreement, that Velez de la Gomera should

[f] Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville. [g] Damian de Goes, le Clede, Ferreras, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [h] Osorius, Maffoei Hist. Indic. Lequien de la Neufville.

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be their common frontier, and that all the country eastward, ſhould be conſidered as appertaining to the crown of Caſtile; while the ſame right was to be acknowleged in the crown of Portugal, as to the countries lying weſt. While they were ſettling theſe imaginary bounds of empire, the king of Fez, at the head of upwards of one hundred thouſand men, inveſted Arzila; and though Vaſco Coutigno, count of Borba, made a gallant defence, and gave immediate notice of his danger to the Portugueſe admiral, and to the governor of Tangier, yet he found it abſolutely neceſſary for his own preſervation to abandon the town, and to retire with the remains of his garriſon into the caſtle. The news of this event affected Don Emanuel to ſuch a degree, that he ordered an army to aſſemble in Algarve; to which kingdom he poſted in perſon, and directed as many ſhips as could be got ready, to be ſent thither from Liſbon. All his endeavours, and all his expedition, however, would have proved ineffectual, if Don Ferdinand of Arragon had not employed the whole force he had in Africa, under the command of the famous Don Pedro Navarro, for the aſſiſtance of the Portugueſe, who, by this timely ſupport, were ſo much encouraged, and behaved ſo gallantly, that they conſtrained the king of Fez to ſet fire to his new conqueſt, and to retire with his army, which had ſuffered prodigiouſly during the courſe of the ſiege. This welcome news reached Don Manuel at Tavira, where in a very ſhort ſpace he had aſſembled twenty thouſand men, and was on the very point of embarking; but the Portugueſe nobility repreſenting to him the impropriety of ſuch an expedition, in the preſent circumſtances of his kingdom, he was prevailed upon to lay it aſide, chiefly from the apprehenſion that thoſe who gave him this advice in Europe, might make him repent the not following it, if he carried them againſt their wills into Africa[i]. A.D. 1508.

A French pirate commits depredations on the Portugueſe commerce, is purſued and taken.

Don Ferdinand Coutigno, a nobleman of great perſonal merit, was ſent with ſifteen ſail of large ſhips into the Indies, with orders to regulate all diſputes between Almeyda and Albuquerque; to ſend the former home, and to put the latter into full poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power in thoſe parts, the factions amongſt the Portugueſe having already produced great inconveniencies[k]. On the 23d of April, the queen was delivered at Evora

[i] Damian de Goes, Garibay, Faria y Souſa, Ferreras. [k] Maffoei Hiſt. Indic. Oſorius, Le Clede.

of the infant Don Alonſo. The war in Africa ſtill continued, though the Portugueſe writers are ſilent upon it; and the king of Fez, having raiſed another formidable army, diſpoſed every thing for the ſiege of Arzila in ſuch a manner, that the place would very probably have been taken, if the count de Borba had not very wiſely had recourſe to thoſe who were neareſt him for their aſſiſtance. The town of Xerez ſent him three hundred croſs bowmen, arms, and ammunition, and proviſion in plenty came from the city of Seville; and Michael Soler, admiral of Arragon, haſtened thither with a ſmall ſquadron of gallies, upon which the king of Fez, finding the enterprize more difficult than he had conceived, retired and diſmiſſed his forces. There was at this time a French corſair, called Mondragon, who with a ſquadron of four ſail of ſtout ſhips took, without much ceremony, whatever veſſels came in his way, and amongſt others made free with a Portugueſe Indiaman, very richly laden. The king complained of this piracy to Lewis the Twelfth, then engaged in the league of Cambray againſt the Venetians, and not receiving ſuch an anſwer as he expected, ordered Duarte Pacheco, with ſix ſhips, to go in ſearch of the corſair, with whom he came up off Cape Finiſterre. Mondragon, whoſe trade was fighting, behaved very gallantly; but Pacheco having ſunk his ſhip, and taken him priſoner, ſoon maſtered the other three, and returned to Liſbon in triumph, with the pirate in chains. Don Emanuel, however, having received full ſatisfaction, and having taken an oath of Mondragon to reſpect the Portugueſe flag for the future, ſet him at liberty. This year Luis de Camoens, the prince of Portugueſe poets, was born[1].

A.D.1509.

A.D.1510.

An inconſiderate jealouſy hinders the catholic king from depoſing the monarch of Fez.

The affairs of India and Africa entirely occupied the mind of Don Emanuel, as indeed, conſidering the poſture in which they were, they very well might. Albuquerque, though a viceroy only of the Portugueſe monarch, had a mind capable of as great projects as any of the ancient conquerors; and with a very inconſiderable force had extended the Portugueſe empire from the ſtreights of Babelmandel to thoſe of Malacca. From hence it is certain that prodigious advantages accrued to Portugal; but it is no leſs certain, that it coſt infinite pains to Don Emanuel, to ſupply annual ſquadrons and armies to maintain and preſerve thoſe conqueſts. On the other hand, in Africa the Portugueſe had to deal with a very great monarch, or,

[1] Damian de Goes.

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to speak with greater propriety, with the whole Moorish nation, who, if it had not been for the feuds and factions amongst themselves, might easily have dispossessed the Portuguese of the places they held upon the coast, and have afterwards found them sufficient employment at home. As it was, the Christians, if they had not imitated the conduct of the Moors, might have done much more than they did; and yet what they did was very amazing, and purely the effects of their troops being better disciplined and better commanded than those of the infidels. Hence, in the space of two years, the attempts made to recover Safia, Tangier, and Arzila, though made with forces out of comparison greater than those of the Portuguese, all miscarried, and served only to raise the credit of the Portuguese governors[m]. In the midst of this success, however, it was discovered that the king Don Ferdinand of Arragon, and regent of Castile, had great designs upon that country; and, with a view to carry these into execution, was assembling a great fleet and army at Malaga. The design was indeed worthy of the vast talents of that able prince, who had formed a project for deposing the king of Fez, and making the empire of Morocco tributary to him, which was discovered and defeated by the jealousy of the Portuguese. Their historians in general fall in with the prejudices of their monarch, and forgetting the succours so generously given by Ferdinand, exclaim against his perfidy in forming a scheme of conquest within the bounds assigned to Portugal, as if it would not have been infinitely more for their interest to have had for their neighbour a prince tributary to their king's father-in-law, than a potent monarch, whom, without assistance, they were unable to oppose. Ferdinand, finding his project discovered, and Don Emanuel highly offended, yielded to the solicitations of his own nobility, who earnestly dissuaded him from this expedition[n]. He then sent A.D. 1511. ambassadors into Portugal, to press Don Emanuel to enter into a league against the French king, which, however, he very wisely declined, as having no quarrel with that prince, and a great trade with his subjects: for this reason he received the same year into his ports a squadron of French gallies, and supplied them with all necessaries[o]. As from the beginning of his reign he had maintained a

[m] Maffoei Hist. Indic. Osorius, Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville. [n] Bernaldez, Mariana, Zurita, Annal. Arragon, Petri Martyr Epist. Ferreras, Faria y Sousa, Osorius, Le Clede, Mayerne Turquet. [o] Damian y Goes.

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close correspondence with England, and as Henry the Eighth and he had married two sisters, that monarch thought fit to send him the ensigns of the Garter, to which he had been elected the year before.

The king of Congo sends his son, with other persons of rank, to be brought up at Lisbon.

On the last of January the queen Donna Maria was delivered at Lisbon of the infant Don Henry, who in process of time became a cardinal, and at length the last king of Portugal of this family. The king of Congo, upon whom the Portuguese had bestowed the name of Don Alonso, and who with great piety and industry had laboured the conversion of his subjects, sent over his son Don Henry, his brother Don Emanuel, and several of the young nobility of his kingdom, to be educated in Portugal; as also his cousin Don Pedro, a person more in years, and of riper judgment, who was to go in quality of his ambassador to Rome[p]. In Barbary the war was still carried on with various success, and great effusion of blood on both sides, though at Fez and Lisbon they meditated putting an end to this war of excursion, which served only to ruin the territories and destroy the subjects of either crown[q].

A.D.1512.

Duke of Braganza's expedition into Africa, and his prudent conduct there.

As the preceding cold season had purified the air, and entirely freed Portugal from any epidemic disease, the king applied himself with great diligence to restore and repeople the cities, towns, and villages that were most decayed, by granting large privileges to the inhabitants. He sent Don Pedro, the ambassador of the king of Congo, to Rome, and with him the black prince, Don Henry, with a very handsome retinue, that the pope might be sensible of the honour paid him by this African prince[r]. But the great business of this year was the assembling a fleet and army, to be transported to Barbary: the former was very numerous; and the latter consisted of eighteen thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse: the whole commanded by Don Diego, duke of Braganza, who had orders to reduce the city of Azamor, and the country round it. He arrived before the place towards the end of August, reduced it in one day, and having put the affairs of the Portuguese in that part of the world into perfect order, returned again into Portugal, where he was very kindly received by the king, though many blamed him for not doing more; but the duke's sentiment was, that he who did what he was directed to do, always did enough[s].

A.D.1513.

[p] Lequien de la Neufville. [q] Damian de Goes. [r] Faria y Sousa. [s] Bernaldez, Zurita, Osorius, Le Clede, La Neufville, Ferreras, Mariana.

Don

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Don Emanual thought proper to send the first-fruits of the Indies to the pope. Leo the Tenth was then seated on the pontifical throne, and being himself the most magnificent prince of his time, the Portuguese monarch was very careful in the contrivance of this embassy; so that it might not barely raise the admiration, but strike the whole city of Rome with astonishment. Tristan da Cunha, a man of great quality and vast fortune, was at the head of this legation, and with him were conjoined Diego Pacheco, and Juan de Faria, two eminent civilians, very eloquent, and perfectly versed in the arts of negotiation [t]. Tristan da Cunha conducted the pomp of his entry so handsomely, and the two lawyers managed their conferences with such dexterity, that they brought a bull from the pope, which left the clergy in a manner at the king's mercy; insomuch that they exclaimed his holiness had been surprised, and over-reached: but the king managed prudently, and instead of carrying things to extremities, demanded one hundred and fifty thousand cruzadoes in three years: to which imposition the ecclesiastics submitted, and the king had the honour of obliging those whom he might have oppressed [u]. The empire of Abyssinia, or Ethiopia, was then governed by a young prince whose name was David, under the tutelage of his grandmother Helena, a princess of great wisdom and spirit: they sent one Matthew, an Armenian, with the title of ambassador, to Albuquerque, viceroy of the Indies, who forwarded him in an honourable manner to the court of Portugal; but the captain with whom the ambassador sailed, having a pique against Albuquerque, treated him with the utmost contempt and ill usage, because he would not produce to him the letters from the emperor and empress, and laboured to represent him as an adventurer, and an impostor. But when Matthew arrived at Lisbon he not only produced Albuquerque's letters, but authentic credentials, which he kept concealed in a hollow cane, and the presents sent by their Ethiopian majesties, which consisted of some medals, and a crucifix in a gold box. On the whole, Don Emanuel was so well satisfied that he caused the captain and some other officers to be put in irons, and would have punished them more severely, if

His splendid embassy to pope Leo X.

A.D. 1514.

[t] Faria y Sousa, La Neufville, Le Clede, Ferreras, Petri Martyr Angler. Zurita Annal. Arragon. [u] Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Mariana.

the ambaſſador, towards whom they had behaved ſo ill, had not interpoſed in their behalf. This year likewiſe the Portugueſe arms were wonderfully ſucceſsful in Barbary; where, with the aſſiſtance of the Moors who adhered to them, they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral conſiderable places, routed armies of the kings of Fez and Mequinez in the field, and raiſed the glory of Don Emanuel much beyond that of his predeceſſors.

Some diſappointments in Africa chagrin him very much.

The wealth that flowed annually not only from the Indies, but from the commerce which their intercourſe with the Indies brought to the port of Liſbon, began to change the condition of Don Emanuel's ſubjects of all ranks, and to introduce gradually all the vices derived from opulence ill applied. Thoſe who had been long out of the kingdom, and by mere dint of military diſcipline cut out for themſelves honours and fortunes with their ſwords, were not indeed infected with idleneſs and luxury; but a ſpirit of arrogance and rapine had ſpread amongſt them to a very high degree. Some advantage they had gained over the Moors upon the coaſt of Ataida; and Souſa formed a project of taking Morocco, a place of great extent, well fortified, and with a garriſon more numerous than the Portugueſe army. The conſequence of this expedition might have been eaſily foreſeen: they were repulſed with loſs, and retired, not without ſome difficulty. This was not the only abortive enterprize even on that ſide; for the king being informed, that it would be of great conſequence to have a ſtrong fortreſs at the mouth of the river Mamora, equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, laden with all the materials for erecting ſuch a fortification, with ſeveral thouſand workmen, and a good eſcort, under the command of Don Pedro Norogno. The king of Fez, apprehending the miſchiefs that muſt attend ſuch a new eſtabliſhment, marched with a numerous army to oppoſe them. As the beſt part of Don Pedro's forces conſiſted of volunteers, who quitted the pleaſures of Liſbon, and other great cities, to make a military tour, they were quickly tired of the hardſhips they underwent, and exceſſively harraſſed by the continual attacks of the infidels; ſo that at length they were diſpoſed to mutiny: of this diſpoſition the king having an account, ſent Don Pedro orders to abandon the half built fortreſs, and to make the beſt retreat he could; which the Portugueſe authors own was attended with a conſiderable loſs of men, and of credit, as well as the entire miſcarriage of the project,

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ject, which mortified the king extremely[x]; for he was exceedingly tender in these points, and bore such reverses but indifferently.

Is deceived into disgracing the famous Albuquerque, who thereupon broke his heart.

Yet even this was not the most sensible mortification of the year: the enemies of the famous Albuquerque, after long endeavouring, at length completed his disgrace. They insinuated, that the title of Great, which his actions had acquired, was not to be endured in a subject: they magnified the reverence paid him by the most potent monarchs of the East: they hinted, that the fame of Albuquerque already surpassed that of Emanuel; and they gave the king to understand, that authority might be easily brought to follow fame. The consequence was, that he appointed him a successor in a manner that was far enough from being agreeable; and this affront broke the heart of a hero, whom, without injury to the Greek conqueror, the Portuguese had compared to Alexander. In his last moments he recommended his natural son to his master, who by his kindness and gratitude towards him, confessed that he made some atonement at the same time for his weakness. The monarchs of the East, from a true spirit of greatness, did honour to the memory of Albuquerque by public mourning, and taught his countrymen to know what a victim had been offered to envy[y]. On the 7th of September, the king's family was increased by the birth of the infant Don Duarte; and the queen endeared herself to the people by distributing large sums to the poor upon this occasion[z]. A.D. 1515.

So much displeased with the disappointments in Africa, as to think of abandoning it.

By the death of his catholic majesty Don Ferdinand, the court of Portugal was thrown into mourning. The king immediately sent an ambassador into Castile, to compliment the queen, Donna Germana, and to console her for the loss of her husband; which minister was also directed to confer with cardinal Ximenes, of whose friendship the king had received many proofs[a]. The king sent likewise ambassadors into Flanders and Germany, to compliment the archduke Charles, and to offer him his daughter Donna Isabella; and to pay the like respects to his grandfather the emperor Maximilian, with whose daughter, the princess Leonora he propoſed a match for the prince of Portugal, Don John[b]. In Africa the war

[x] Faria y Sousa, Damian de Goes. [y] Osorius. [z] Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [a] Bernaldez, Carvajal, Petri Martyr Epist. Zurita Annal. Arragon, Abarca. [b] Prudencio de Sandoval Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Charles V. Vera y Figuerοa, La Neufville, Le Clede, Ferreras.

ſtill continued: the Moors formed a very right judgment of their affairs, which induced the kings of Fez and Mequinez to aſſemble great armies, and having joined them, to attempt the conqueſt of Arzilla. Coutigno, ſon to the count of Borba, the firſt Portugueſe governor of that city and fortreſs, defended it very bravely, till, by diſpatching expreſſes on every ſide, he procured ſuch reinforcements as rendered the reduction of the place impracticable: upon which the Moors raiſed the ſiege. The alarm this gave in Portugal, and the neceſſity there was of accepting the aſſiſtance of the Caſtilians, diſpleaſed Don Emanuel; who was become ſick of ſeeing all the treaſures of the Indies buried in this war of Africa, from whence there reſulted nothing. His diſguſt was increaſed by the revolt of a great part of the Moors who had ſubmitted to him; againſt whom he ſent Alvaro Ataida, a very brave man, who, with the far greater part of his forces, was cut to pieces in this expedition. This diſaſter ſoured the king to ſuch a degree, that he was on the point of forming a reſolution of abandoning the affairs of Barbary entirely; but it happened that Jehabentaf, the moſt conſiderable of the Moors who had embraced the Portugueſe intereſt, was then at Liſbon. He went to the king and told him, that it was both cheaper, and more advantageous to him, to manage a war on the other ſide of the ſea than in his own dominions; that without doubt his countrymen had been guilty of ſome perfidy; but that it was alſo poſſible the Portugueſe had been guilty of oppreſſion: that his majeſty had nothing to do but to appoint another general, with whom he would go over, and reſtore things to a perfect ſtate of quiet[c]. The king thereupon named Pedro Maſcarenhas, with whom went the Moor, who performed punctually, and with great honour, all that he had promiſed. The great progreſs of the Portugueſe arms, more eſpecially under the direction of Albuquerque, had taught the Perſians to court the friendſhip of Don Emanuel; who, by the advice of that great and wiſe man, had ſent an ambaſſador thither; and this year the ſhah ſent a miniſter into Portugal, to ſignify how much he eſteemed the friendſhip of Don Emanuel; and how willing he was to enter into the cloſeſt engagements againſt the Turks, whom they regarded as their common enemy.

A. D. 1516. This intimation would have been at any time pleaſing to Don Emanuel; but was particularly ſo at this juncture,

[c] Damian de Goes, Oſorius, Marmol.

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on account of the prodigious force with which the ſultan of Egypt was preparing to attack the Portugueſe ſettlements in the Indies, by land and ſea, of which the king had received notice from the knights of Rhodes; as alſo that the Mamaluke fleet and army was well ſupplied with Italian gunners and engineers. It was therefore of very great conſequence to hinder the ſhah from entering into this confederacy, and of ſtill greater to engage him in an alliance from whence many advantages might reſult. The very appearance of the Perſian ambaſſador at Liſbon did not a little raiſe the credit of Don Emanuel throughout all Europe. On the 7th of September the queen Donna Maria was delivered of the infant Don Antonio; but with ſuch difficulty that ſhe fell into a weak and languiſhing condition, which baffled the art of her phyſicians; and the child alſo proved weak and ſickly, and did not long ſurvive [d].

Endeavours to form a confederacy againſt the Turks, but without effect.

Donna Maria queen of Portugal, having lingered to the 7th of March, with an incurable impoſthume in the bowels, deceaſed, to the great grief not only of the king, and of her family, but of the people of Portugal in general; who admired her virtues, and who adored her humility [e]. The king was ſo much afflicted that for ſome days he gave no audience. At length the urgency of affairs requiring it, he returned to the management of buſineſs, and found in application that eaſe which he had ſought in vain from a retreat. Human policy can never ſee far, and is ſometimes very ſhort-ſighted. The empire which had been the object of Don Emanuel's jealouſy but a year before, now alarmed him by its fall. A revolution of this kind with reſpect to a prince, would not have been without example; but in regard to a nation it was very extraordinary. Selim, emperor of the Turks, in one battle broke the power, and in a ſhort time after utterly ſubverted the government of the Mamalukes; and thereby added the famous and fertile kingdom of Egypt to the reſt of his dominions. This event aſtoniſhed the reſt of the princes of Europe; but it alarmed Don Emanuel. He ſaw the conſequences, and remonſtrated to pope Leo the Tenth how much it was his duty to compoſe all quarrels in Chriſtendom, in order to conſider of the moſt effectual methods for reducing the power of the infidels. The pope accepted his advice kindly; and made ſome efforts in the purſuit of it; but other kings were not ſo eaſily awakened:

[d] Le Clede, Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet. Souſa, Oſorius.

[e] Faria y

awakened: they just opened their eyes to look about them, and then relapsed into their lethargy. Don Emanuel, who was in earnest, and who had actually begun to prepare both a fleet and an army, when he saw it could not be used against the Turks, sent it under the command of Don Diego Lopez de Sigueira, to act against the Moors in Barbary. His design was to take the city of Targa, which might have been very useful as a place of arms, in carrying on the war against the king of Fez; but Don Diego differing with the governor of Ceuta, who was to have assisted him, the enterprize came to nothing, and
A.D. 1517. Sigueira soon after returned to Portugal. Things wore a better aspect in the Indies, where this year they opened a passage to China from Malacca, and gained some advantages over the king of Bantam, in the isle of Java; but their principal settlement of Goa had been in great danger, and the vices and follies of those who succeeded him, had almost overturned the magnificent fabric raised by the virtues of the great Albuquerque [f].

Has thoughts of abdicating in favour of the prince, but wisely alters his mind.

The war in Barbary was still carried on with little success, and with little hopes. Expedition after expedition, in which sometimes the Portuguese were victorious, and sometimes they met with the worst, and these alternatives sometimes happened more than once in the same campaign. Intestine divisions amongst the Moors gave both subjects and success to the Portuguese; and on the other hand, envy and jealousy amongst the Portuguese governors afforded the Moors in their turn opportunities to triumph. The king, after mature deliberation, having nothing but the glory of his crown, and the good of his subjects at heart, inclined to abdicate the throne of Portugal in favour of his son, reserving only Algarve to himself, with the revenues of the mastership of one of the religious orders, and from thence to pass over into Africa with a complete army, concluding that his presence would put an end to all disputes, and that the remainder of his life could not be better employed than in making a thorough conquest of what some have styled the African Algarve. But while the king meditated this great and disinterested design, some whispers of it flew about, which were quickly attended with consequences that obliged him to change his sentiments. Many of the nobility began to worship the rising sun; and, which was still worse, laboured

[f] Maffœi Hist. Indic. Osorius, Damian de Goes, Lequien de la Neufville Histoire Generale de Portugal, Mariana, Ferreras.

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to give him ill impressions of his father, whose magnificence was now treated as dissipation; whose easiness of access was styled mean condescension; and whose great attention to trade was represented as stooping much below his dignity. But above all, his complacency in some instances to the clergy, and to the people in abolishing taxes that were thought too hard, were insolently and foolishly called betraying the prerogative; for the king had very wisely procured all the formalities of law in support of these impositions, and very prudently took them away when the people had recourse to his prerogative for their relief. The prince had parts and probity, but he was very young; and stories of absolute power are apt to tickle the ears of young men [g]. Don Emanuel quickly saw this disposition, and immediately resolved not to deliver himself up to distress, or his subjects to oppression; but he kept this resolution as a secret of state. He saw that, to support himself upon the throne, it was become necessary to share it with a princess equal to him in birth; and therefore he directed Don Alvaro de Costa, whom he sent to compliment Don Carlos on his arrival at Castile, to negotiate for him a match with the infanta Donna Leonora, his sister, which was concluded with great privacy. The new queen being conducted into Portugal by the duke of Alba, the king was married to her at Crato, on the 24th of November, and went from thence to Almerin, the plague then raging at Lisbon [h]. There, on the feast of St. Andrew, he was with great solemnity invested with the order of the Golden Fleece, as a mark of his brother-in-law's esteem; and there certainly never was a marriage of this kind more convenient at the time it was made for the interest of both kingdoms, or that had better effects for the time it lasted. A.D. 1518.

His consummate policy in the management of affairs, so as never to forfeit the love of his people.

Affairs in the Indies not going entirely to the king's satisfaction, he resolved to send thither George Albuquerque, with a fleet of sixteen sail, and as the solemnity of his marriage, and the supplies sent to Barbary, had exhausted his treasure, he imposed a tax upon corn, assigning the necessity he was in, and the inexpediency of holding an assembly of the states while the country was infected, as the motives, with which the better part of his subjects were satisfied. But the principal magistrate of

[g] Faria y Sousa, Damian de Goes, Osorius, Le Clede. [h] Prudencio de Sandoval Argensola, Petri Martyr Angler Epist. Le Quien de la Neufville.

Evora,

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Evora, a man no way considerable for birth or fortune, obstinately opposed it; not, as he said, for want of duty to the king, or because he thought his reasons ill founded, but to prevent the consequence of such a precedent. The king sent for him, tried the force of expostulation and promises: when these proved ineffectual, he confined him in his own house; but after a few days he sent for him, commended him, and abolished the tax [i]. There had been great disputes with the crown of Castile about the limits of their discoveries, which had been partly settled by treaties, and partly by bulls from Rome. But notwithstanding these regulations, there had been some years before several attempts made by the subjects of Castile to settle in the Brazils; of which complaint being made, it was immediately corrected by cardinal Ximenes; for that great statesman held good faith to be the first maxim in sound policy [k]. At this time Ferdinand Magellan, and Ruy Falero, quitted the service of Portugal, and went to Don Carlos, to whom they offered the discovery of a new passage to the Molucca islands, which they positively asserted lay without the bounds granted to Don Emanuel, and consequently within those assigned to the crown of Castile. The king's ambassador, Alvaro de Costa, had notice of this application, and had for some time so much interest as to prevent the acceptance of this proposition; but at length the promises of Magellan wrought so effectually on the avarice of the ministers, who had an appetite to wealth beyond all things, that a small squadron was ordered for this service, on board of which Magellan sailed from Seville in the beginning of August, having rejected all the offers made him by da Costa to return to Portugal, as having the gratification of his resentment in view, which resentment rose from Don Emanuel's refusing to raise his salary in the Indies nine shillings a month. So dangerous it is to quarrel for little things with men of great parts [l].

A.D. 1519. The nobility, who had declared themselves so early, found themselves exposed to the king's indignation, without either shelter or defence; for on one side the confusions in Castile left them no place of retreat; and on the other the government, civil and military, was so exact, that all were steady to the king, who were in his service, because they knew that the best part of the emoluments they drew from thence, were not national establishments, but flow-

[i] Osorius, de Goes. [k] Sandoval, Ferreras, Mariana. [l] Damian

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ed purely from his bounty. In regard to the former, he was close and reserved, because the salaries once stated and settled, in a certain way, became a charge upon the crown, and were paid out of the ordinary revenues; but easy and beneficent in respect to the other, as being disbursed by himself out of certain privileges, which he had reserved in the commerce to the Indies. He governed, therefore, with an authority, the plenitude of which was so much the greater, as it was not either seen or felt; the king's good fortune being so extraordinary, that his own and his subjects affairs were continually improving; and as this prosperity proceeded apparently from the measures of his government, the far greater part of those who lived under it were thoroughly, and with good reason, persuaded that it was incomparably wise and just [m]. In Africa only affairs went not entirely to the mind of Emanuel; and yet, even in Africa, things began to grow better. The Portuguese cavalry equalled the Moors in expedition, and excelled them in discipline; and their infantry were always incomparably better. Their government also was so much better and milder than the Moors, that the more industrious part of that nation willingly accepted of their protection; and those who growing rich under it, had out of wantonness revolted, were so humbled by repeated defeats, that their very chieftains, who had excited them to this act of ambition, were constrained out of regard to their own safety to persuade them to submission, to charge themselves with the negotiation and treaty, and to give hostages out of their own families for the due observance of it; so that, on the whole, things had a fairer prospect on this side than they had hitherto worn from the commencement of this reign [n].

His generous behaviour to Charles V.

By this time the harmony of the royal family was entirely restored; for Don Lewis de Silveyra, who was in great credit with the prince, and who had been the principal agent of the young nobility, in filling his head with false maxims, being banished, Don Juan found it expedient to conform to his father's will, and being treated with great kindness by the new queen, and perceiving that after a short coldness his father was disposed to forget what was passed, he altered his conduct entirely, and instead of affecting the government, appeared desirous of learning

[m] La Neufville, La Clede. [n] Damian de Goes, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet.

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from the king what it was to govern. On the 18th of February the queen was delivered of a prince, whom, in honour of her brother, now become emperor, she, with the king's consent, caused to be baptized by the name of Carlos, but he died in the succeeding year [o]. The rebellion of the commons in Castile was now at its height; and as some persons of quality, and many of the clergy, had embarked on the side of the people, they judged it expedient to send the dean of Avila to Lisbon, with an offer of the crowns of Castile and Leon to Don Emanuel. The king gave him several audiences, received his propositions favourably, and heard all he had to say. He then told him, that he had managed a bad cause in the best manner: that he believed it might be in the power of his party to put many great cities and strong places into his hands, and to enable him to raise a numerous army; but he assured him that this was no temptation to injure a neighbouring prince absent, and his brother-in-law; that these very propositions shewed they were rebels, and that they had taken arms, not to protect their own, but to overturn their sovereign's rights. However, as he apprehended they might be driven by necessity beyond what they originally intended, he was willing to interpose his good offices, to procure for them what they had any title to demand; and that if any of their chiefs would lay down their arms, and retire into his dominions, he would grant them his protection till he could procure them a pardon. This answer, though it was not very acceptable, was in appearance well received by the malcontents [p]. Cardinal Adrian, and the lords of the king's party, made application to Don Emanuel, who granted them ammunition, artillery, provisions, and a corps of auxiliary troops, for suppressing the rebellion, advising them not to lessen the king's authority by any ill-judged treaty, nor to preclude his mercy by any violent proceedings against their fellow-subjects. This conduct was very kindly taken by the emperor Charles, notwithstanding the king of Portugal kept his word to the malcontents, receiving many of them, and by his example his son did the same, even Maria de Padilla, who had been the very soul of the revolt, but without affording them any countenance or assistance [q].

Begins to listen to the clergy.

On the return of the emperor Charles into Spain, Don Emanuel sent a minister to compliment him upon his new

[o] Osorius; Damian de Goes, Faria y Sousa. [p] Sandoval, Petri Martyr. Angler, Epist. La Neufville, Le Clede, Ferreras. [q] Geddes's Miscellaneous Tracts.

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dignity, and to inform him of his design to build a new fortress in Africa, that he might not take umbrage at it. The emperor assured him, that he entirely approved of his project, and that if it was any way inconvenient for him to carry it into execution, he would do it himself with his leave [s]. Don Emanuel upon this answer sent a squadron of eight sail to examine the spot where it was intended his fort should be erected, and received as favourable a report as he could desire; notwithstanding which some unforeseen accidents intervening, there was nothing more done in this affair. The truth is, the clergy about this time had gained a great ascendency over the king, and by drawing false consequences from true divinity, had perplexed him extremely. They told him that the pope's bulls could only exempt him from papal censures; but that revenues once consecrated to sacred uses could not lawfully be applied to any other; and this they assured him was the reason that all his attempts in Africa had hitherto proved unsuccessful, the money levied upon the clergy having been chiefly employed in that service; and this it was that occasioned some stop in the dispositions he intended to have made [t]. In the mean time, Mohammed king of Fez, who saw a great part of his territories taken from him, and the power of the Christians daily increasing, was continually in the field, and no less active in his intrigues; sometimes regaining the Mooriſh tribes, who had revolted to the Portuguese; and at others, rendering those suspicious in the eyes of their new friends, whom he could not debauch. This year there happened several instances of this sort; but upon the whole there was nothing done of any great importance to either party, since the Moors were not able to recover any of their fortresses out of the hands of the Christians; and, on the other hand, the Portuguese had much ado to maintain the ground they had gained, and to recover several little Mooriſh clans who had revolted from them in the spring. But the greatest mischief they met with, was the death of Jehabentasuf, the most able and the most faithful Moor, who had embraced their interest. The king of Fez, notwithstanding their long acquaintance and friendship, had found means to create a jealousy of him in Don Nugno de Mascarenhas; which the Moor no sooner perceived than he acquainted Don Emanuel with it, and desired that the strictest enquiry might be made into his conduct; but the

[s] Sandoval, Faria y Sousa, Damian de Goes. [t] Osorius.

king,

king, who was grown extremely cautious since the affair of Albuquerque, transmitted his letter to Mascarenhas, and ordered him not to give so worthy a man any offence. As this letter justified the governor in trusting him, he made no scruple of doing it, and Jehabentasuf, either by force or persuasion, brought back all but one tribe of the revolted Moors. At length a conference was demanded by their chiefs; to which he went with three of his officers, and was by them most perfidiously murdered as he sat at table, to the great sorrow and irreparable misfortune of the Portuguese [t].

His project of penetrating through Congo into Ethiopia.

The king flattered himself this year with having found out the means of gaining some degree of certainty, in respect to the only part of his Oriental discoveries, which even till this time was not thoroughly understood. There was one captain Quadras, who being shipwrecked in the Arabian gulf, fell into the hands of the natives, and having suffered a long and severe imprisonment, acquired their language in such a degree of perfection, that by concealing his country, and pretending great zeal for the Mohammedan religion, he passed through Arabia into Persia, and so to Ormus, where resuming the habit and the manners of a Christian, he was sent home with great recommendations of his knowlege, capacity, and integrity. With this gentleman the king had many conversations, and having learned from him many particulars relating to Ethiopia and Egypt, which he never knew before, he conceived that he was a very fit person to execute a scheme that had long occupied his mind, of discovering a passage by land from the kingdom of Congo to the empire of Abyssinia. His predecessor, king John, arrived at a certainty with respect to a passage to the Indies, by employing men of learning to travel, as well as men of courage to discover by sea; and Don Emanuel had formed to himself great hopes of the advantages that might be derived by opening a correspondence between two Christian potentates, with whom he was in alliance, and who had ports on both sides of Africa. What the nature of his system was, is very uncertain; to what height it might have been carried we are likewise ignorant; but the learned bishop of Silves has very truly observed, that it was very judicious, and manifested his perfect skill in the art of making, managing, and completing discoveries. According to his scheme, whatever it was, captain Quadras was dispatched

[t] Faria y Sousa, La Neufville, Le Clede, Osorius, Mariana, Herrera, Damian de Goes.

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to Congo, where he safely arrived, and presented letters from Don Emanuel to the king of that country, desiring he would give him proper instructions, and the necessary passports for his journey into Ethiopia. The monarch of Congo received him kindly, and treated him respectfully; but the Portuguese, in his court, and about his person, conceiving that Quadras might acquire great riches by establishing such a correspondence, became envious of him to such a degree, that they insinuated to the king these letters were either forged, or obtained from Don Emanuel by surprize; and that he ought to do nothing in an affair of so great consequence, without obtaining from that prince some more particular and authentic explanation of his intention. Captain Quadras, after waiting some time, was obliged to return to Lisbon, where finding the king dead and his hopes blasted, it made such an impression on his mind, that he shut himself up in a convent, where he spent the remainder of his days in pious meditations [u].

Marriage of the infanta Donna Beatrix, to Charles duke of Savoy.

As the fame of Don Emanuel's greatness, magnificence, and other royal virtues was diffused throughout Europe, he had always many ambassadors at his court; and amongst these there was one from Charles duke of Savoy, a prince, who, during the war in Italy, had rendered himself more considered and more respected than could have been well imagined from the size of his dominions. The true business of this ambassador was to negociate a marriage for his master, with the infanta Donna Beatrix, the king's second daughter. Don Emanuel listened at first to the proposition; but he drew the negociation into some length, sent ministers of his own into Piedmont, and at at last, in the spring of this year, consented to the duke's desire, and concluded a marriage. His circumspection in this affair was not so much the effect of policy, as of parental affection. He was desirous his daughter should be as happy in her own dominions as in his; he ordered his ministers, therefore, to study the temper of the duke; to give him an exact account of the disposition of his court, of his family, and manner of living; and having received satisfaction in these points, he gave the infanta one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, and a great many fine jewels. While every thing was preparing for this wedding, the queen was delivered at Lisbon, on the 18th of June, of the infanta Donna Maria [w]. As the king was naturally magnificent, so he never shewed it more than in

[u] Osorius. [w] Damian de Goes, Le Clede, Ferreras.

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the squadron appointed to carry the infanta to her husband's dominions. It consisted of eighteen sail of the largest ships that had been seen in Portugal. She was attended by many of the nobility of the first quality; and Martin Da Costa, archbishop of Lisbon, accompanied her in a new ship, built and equipped at his own expence, which was not at all inferior to any in the fleet. She sailed from the river of Lisbon on the 9th of August [x], and arrived towards the end of September in the port of Villa Franca, in the county of Nice, where she was received by the duke and his court [y]. In their return, the fleet touched at Ceuta, where the archbishop of Lisbon breathed his last. About this time the Venetians sent a solemn embassy to Don Emanuel, to desire of him several favours; but the principal design of it was to make a contract for all the spices that came from the East Indies, that they might manage that trade throughout all Europe, as they had formerly done. The king received these ministers very politely, treated them kindly, and granted them all their other requests; but declined entering into the contract for spices, as conceiving it unreasonable that they should reap the profit of the risques and dangers to which his subjects were exposed [z].

Dreadful famine in Barbary.

Some military expeditions there were this year in Barbary, but of no great consequence; a circumstance chiefly owing to a grievous famine, occasioned by a great drought in the spring. This oppressed the Moors to such a degree, that they pretended to be generally inclined to embrace the Christian religion, and offered to become slaves to those who would instruct them. Don Emanuel's piety was so great, that he would willingly have accepted this proposition, and have contributed all in his power towards their subsistence; but his subjects absolutely refused to receive them, from an apprehension that it was rather bread than instruction they sought; and that it might be extremely dangerous to admit such numbers, as, upon the least encouragement, would have taken this method to prevent starving. Besides, the harvest had been but very indifferent in Portugal; and they were afraid of heightening that scarcity they already felt, into the same evil from which these poor wretches sought to be delivered. However, from his own tenderness of heart, the king gave them great supplies,

[x] Faria y Sousa, Lequien de la Neufville, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [y] Damian de Goes, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras.
[z] Osorius.

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and neglected nothing that might make their converſion numerous and ſincere [a]. Their corſairs being at this juncture very troubleſome, and there being a ſtrong ſuſpicion that the ſhips of other nations dealt in the ſame trade of piracy, and ſold their prizes to the Moors, the king cauſed a ſtrong ſquadron to be fitted out, which he ſent to cruiſe in the Streight of Gibraltar, and upon the coaſt of Africa, with ſtrict orders to take the veſſels of all nations by whom any prizes had been made from his ſubjects; which order had ſo good an effect, that in the ſpace of a few months thoſe ſeas were entirely clear. He alſo gave inſtructions for viſiting and repairing the fortifications of all the places he poſſeſſed in that country, paid the arrears due to the garriſons, and cauſed the magazines to be filled, that they might be in a better condition to reſiſt the efforts of their enemies, and to protect ſuch of the Moors as continued to acknowlege him for their ſovereign [b].

Unexpected death of Don Emanuel.

The temper, regularity, and excellent conſtitution of Don Emanuel, ſeemed to promiſe a florid old age, the rather becauſe as yet he was unattacked by infirmities, and ſo conſtant and exact in his diet and exerciſe, that his ſubjects flattered themſelves he had ſtill many years to reign. However, in the beginning of the winter an epidemic fever prevailed in Liſbon, which either through the conſtitution of the air, or the unſkilful management of the phyſicians, commonly terminated in a lethargy, which proved mortal. The king was ſeized with this fever in the beginning of September, and died of it upon the 13th, in the fifty-third year of his life, and in the twenty-ſeventh of his reign. He directed that his corpſe ſhould be interred in the royal monaſtery of Bethlehem, which he intended ſhould become the burying-place of the princes of his line [c]. He was univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, and with great reaſon. He completed what his predeceſſors had begun; reduced the government of Portugal into a regular ſyſtem, which moved uniformly, and without interruption. He kept war and diſcord at a diſtance; he communicated by his own example a placid and chearful diſpoſition to his ſubjects; and might juſtly boaſt, that he had baniſhed poverty and ſorrow out of his dominions. From his acceſſion to his demiſe he was always, and in all inſtances, the parent of his people; juſt, without ſeverity;

[a] Lequien de la Neufville, Le Clede. [b] Marmol, Oſorius, Damain de Goes. [c] Faria y Souſa, Maffæi Hiſt. Indic. Vaſconcellos, Lequien de la Neufville Hiſtoire generale de Portugal, tom. ii. p. 606.

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affable, without affectation; compassionate, without weakness; and pious, without any tincture of hypocrisy (D).

His character. He was justly styled the Fortunate; but his good fortune was the effects of the divine blessing on his great wisdom, and the good ends to which it was directed. He promoted and employed the worthiest men his country produced; the intrepidity of Vasco de Gama, the steady courage of Duarto Pacheco, the noble spirit of Francisco Almeyda, the vast abilities of the incomparable Albuquerque, were all called forth to action by his discernment. He saw the discovery, and he saw the empire of the Indies carried to the greatest height; he reaped the fruits of that spirit of commerce and navigation, the expectation of which only had been the delight of his predecessor. He did much, though he did not all he proposed in Africa. He made that country a nursery for officers and soldiers; he broke the spirit of the Moors, by inflicting on them the miseries that Portugal and Spain had felt from them in former ages. He raised the naval power of his kingdom not only beyond what it was, but even beyond expectation. He was respected, and formidable to his neighbours, without injuring them. His friendship was courted as an honour, and not from a principle of fear. His magnificence carried utility with it; and the splendor of his buildings and establishments of every kind bore at once the marks of his magnanimity and generosity. Amongst these were reckoned thirteen monasteries in Portugal, besides those in Asia, Africa, and America. Eight great churches, the hospital of Lisbon, five palaces, upwards of twenty fortresses, exclusive of lesser castles, and several bridges, moles, fountains, and other public works were begun and finished by him. He dedicated the hundredth penny of all his revenues to pious uses; he gave proper appointments to one hundred knights who served in Africa; and he made this service the road to preferment. He created a king at arms; and as he had reduced

(D) Don Emanuel was in point of stature rather above the ordinary size, but somewhat lean; his forehead high; his hair of a dark brown, his eyes blue, and remarkably soft and pleasant. His arms, like those of the Persian emperor Darius, so long that when he stood upright his fingers reached below his knees. He performed all his exercises gracefully, and with much agility. He was very well skilled in astronomy, geography, and navigation.

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ed the laws, ſo he likewiſe brought the ſyſtem of nobility into perfect order. He cauſed Edward Galvam and Roderic de Pina to reduce the ancient chronicles into ſome tolerable method. He loved and encouraged the ſciences, chiefly by ſhewing a ſingular reſpect for thoſe who excelled in them. He was a great reformer of his clergy; not by intruding into eccleſiaſtical affairs, or making ſtrict regulations, but by paying a juſt deference to learning and merit, and raiſing none who were defective in either. He brought this reformation ſo far, that the great officers of ſtate, and the great prelates were equally the ornaments of his court; and he would often ſay, that the proſperity of a ſtate depended on paying an equal regard to nobility of blood and nobility of mind. As an inſtance of this regard he wore mourning for the great officers who died in his ſervice, and kept his chamber three days upon the death of the beſt pilot in his dominions. He had faults, but they were not conſiderable, either in their nature, or in their number; and which is more, they were the exceſſes of his virtue. His own candour made him think all men candid; by this he was ſometimes deceived, but he quickly perceived it, owned it, bewailed it, and atoned for it. He had a familiarity which ſome of his courtiers thought incompatible with his rank: as for inſtance, he was pleaſed at hearing the children examined at church, and frequently aſked them queſtions. It may be he had more religion and leſs pride than thoſe who cenſured him. He loved muſic and dancing, and would often paſs the whole night at a ball; but it was privately, and in his own family. He had ſet hours for buſineſs, which he never neglected; but when any thing happened unexpectedly, he diſpatched it wherever he was, or however engaged. He loved rural ſports, and manly exerciſes, and he ſpent much time in them; but it was not thrown away. He would ſometimes ſay to one miniſter, ſometimes to another, "Come, we are alone, have you any thing to ſay." When they came in from hunting, or from tennis, when he found proper perſons about him, he would tell them, "Now we are fatigued with play, let us divert ourſelves a little with buſineſs." Theſe appeared great things to ſome, and trifles to others. The reader will think of them as he pleaſes [d].

[d] Damian de Goes, Oſorius Epitome de las Hiſtorias y Portugueſas, La Neufville, Le Clede, Ferreras.

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SECT. VI.

The Reigns of John III. Sebaſtian, and Henry.

Acceſſion of king John III.

AT the time of his father's demiſe John prince of Portugal was in the twentieth year of his age. By the advice of his council he retarded his proclamation to the ſixth day after his father's death; whereas till that time it had been always on the third. But when it was performed, it was with very great magnificence; almoſt all the nobility and prelates of the kingdom aſſiſting, and all the king's brethren being preſent. The cardinal Alonſo adminiſtered the oath to the king, and the infant Don Lewis, duke de Beja, was the firſt nobleman who did homage [a]. He recalled immediately Don Lewis Silveyra, whom his father had baniſhed, and received him again into his favour, but in conjunction with Don Antonio de Ataida, who was a man of a very different character. Don Lewis had wit, learning, and ſpirit; was a very accompliſhed nobleman, and in all reſpects an ornament to the court. Don Antonio, with all the good breeding of a courtier, and with the abilities of a great ſtateſman, had clean hands, and an upright heart. They ſhared the confidence of the king for a time; but as he grew older he beſtowed it entirely on Don Antonio. One of his firſt acts of government was to ſend Don Juan Silveyra to the court of France, to expoſtulate roundly about the depredations committed by ſome ſhips that bore the French flag, and the attempts made to interfere with his colonies and conqueſts by others. He ſent likewiſe an ambaſſador to compliment cardinal Adrian upon his advancement to the papacy, to offer him a ſquadron to carry him to Italy, and to deſire a diſpenſation for his brother Don Lewis to hold the priory of Crato, which he had beſtowed upon him. But the ambaſſador came too late, for the pope was already gone [b]. There had been in his father's life-time a treaty of marriage between the infant Don Ferdinand and Donna Maria Coutinho, which had been delayed on account of her youth, and which her father, the count de Marialva, deſired might be now celebrated. But the mar-

[a] Cronica do Rey de Portugal Don Juan III. compoſta por Franc. D'Andrada, Faria y Souſa, Le Clede, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [b] Petri Martyr Angler, Garibay dans l'Hiſtoire de Navarre, Sandoval.

quis

quis de Las Torres, ſon to Don George, duke of Coimbra, interpoſed, and affirmed, that there was a contract between him and the young lady. This ſhe ſolemnly denied, and the king thereupon committed the marquis, and conſented to his brother's marriage: upon which Don George retired from court in diſcontent. As the council were unanimouſly of opinion, that the king ought to think of a fit marriage, the duke of Bragança propoſed that he ſhould eſpouſe his mother-in-law, Donna Leonora, who was immenſely rich, and to whom his father had left a large jointure; and as ſtrange as this propoſition might ſeem, it was ſupported by a ſtrong party. But the count de Vimioſo ſteadily oppoſed it, and the city of Liſbon having remonſtrated againſt it, the king declined all thoughts of it; ſo that in the month of November, when the count de Cabra came from the emperor Charles the Fifth, to deſire that his ſiſter might have leave to retire into Caſtile, with her daughter Donna Maria, the king readily granted it with reſpect to his mother-in-law, though it was with ſome difficulty he conſented to part with his ſiſter, and at length revoked the leave he had given [c].

A very ſingular inſtance of the prime miniſter's diſintereſtedneſs and probity.

The plague being in Portugal, the king was obliged to ſhift from one province to another, and ſo was the queen likewiſe, to whom Don John made a viſit at Meija, where he took his leave in public; that princeſs ſet out in the month of May, accompanied by the princes Don Lewis and Don Ferdinand, and continued her journey to Valladolid, and from thence to Medina el Campo, where the emperor then was [d]. Don Juan Silveyra was received with all poſſible teſtimonies of reſpect in France; but except theſe, and a ſmooth anſwer, he could obtain nothing. The king's favourite, Don Lewis de Silveyra, was ſent to the court of the emperor, where he remained eight months. It was intended that he ſhould have offered the infanta Donna Iſabella to that monarch; but one of the ſhips that Magellan carried to the Eaſt Indies returning, the king reſtrained Don Lewis's negotiation to mere points of ceremony. At his return he found the king at Almeyrin, where entertaining him with his uſual familiarity, and forgetting to kiſs his hand at his firſt appearance, he loſt his favour; with which loſs he was not much affected, nor did he enter into any intrigues againſt Don Antonio de Ataida, who became in a manner firſt miniſter. There

[c] Andrada, Sandoval, Mariana. [d] Faria y Souſa. Andrada, Ferreras, Le Clede.

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A.D. 1523. is a paſſage related of this ſtateſman that ought to be preſerved: the lord of Azambuja, a nobleman of one of the moſt ancient families in Portugal, partly through his zeal for the public ſervice, was ſo reduced that he was conſtrained to ſell his lands. The king told Don Antonio that he would do well to buy them, as they lay next his own. "Your majeſty, replied the miniſter, will do much "better to enable him to keep them, ſince he, and his "anceſtors, have been impoveriſhed by the ſervices they "have rendered the crown." The king took his advice, and ſo that noble family was ſaved from ruin [e].

The king very wiſely cauſes the diſpute about the Moluccas to be ſuſpended.

In order to reſtore a right underſtanding between the crowns of Caſtile and Portugal, it was abſolutely requiſite that the diſpute about the Moluccas ſhould be adjuſted, and for this purpoſe commiſſaries were named on both ſides, who met, debated, and diſagreed. Thus the breach was made wider than before, and the emperor actually granted a commiſſion for ſending thither another fleet, notwithſtanding the Portugueſe commiſſioners, at their departure, had proteſted againſt the proceedings of thoſe who aſſiſted at theſe conferences on the part of Spain. King John ſent Don Pedro de Correa and doctor Juan de Faria, his ambaſſadors to the emperor, to treat of a marriage with his ſiſter the princeſs Katherine; which theſe miniſters not only concluded, but alſo by the loan of a conſiderable ſum of money for the Italian expedition, obtained a convention by which all points in diſpute in regard to the Moluccas, were to be ſuſpended till this money ſhould be repaid; and thus this troubleſome affair was laid aſleep. As to the marriage, it was agreed, that the emperor ſhould be at the expence of his ſiſter's journey, but that the king of Portugal ſhould pay for the diſpenſation; that the princeſs ſhould have two hundred thouſand crowns, excluſive of her jewels, and an annuity of five thouſand crowns per annum. Theſe points being ſettled, ſhe was conducted with great ſolemnity to the frontiers of Portugal, received there by the king's brothers, and, upon her arrival at Crato, the marriage was celebrated with all the magnificence poſſible [f]. This year the king found it neceſſary to

A.D. 1524. ſend Vaſco de Gama, count of Videguira, to the Indies, which he diſcovered, where, old and infirm as he was, he ſettled all things to the general ſatisfaction of the Portu-

[e] Faria y Souſa, Andrada. Mayerne Turquet.

[f] Sandoval, Mariana,

gueſe

gueſe and the natives; and ſoon after expired at Goa, univerſally regretted by both [g]. The Portugueſe ſtill continued their expeditions in Africa; but the cherifs extended their empire in that country notwithſtanding, and revived thereby the credit and power of the Moors.

The emperor Don Carlos perceiving that little or no advantage would ariſe from the negotiation he had been long carrying on in England, reſolved at length to ſend ambaſſadors into Portugal to demand the infant Donna Iſabella. It was not long before the treaty was concluded, by which the emperor charged himſelf with the expences of the diſpenſation; the king promiſed to defray thoſe of the journey, and the fortune was fixed at a million of ducats, nine hundred thouſand to be paid in money, and the reſt to be beſtowed in jewels. This marriage was celebrated in the month of November by proxy, and in the ſpring the infanta ſet out for Caſtile [h]; the Portugueſe noblemen who accompanied her, having orders to take poſſeſſion of certain lands, which the emperor was content to give in mortgage for his ſiſter's fortune that was not yet paid. About this time arrived an ambaſſador from Ethiopia, ſent by the emperor David, who governed that country, now ſtyled by the Portugueſe the Grand Negus, and who had formerly made ſuch a noiſe in the world by the title of Preſter John. This ambaſſador, who did not make any great figure, proceeded afterwards to Rome, in order to pay his maſter's homage to the pope, or at leaſt it was ſo given out [i]. At this juncture the affairs in the Indies were in a very flouriſhing condition, and the vaſt treaſures they brought into the kingdom occaſioned a great reſort of ſtrangers. This, with ſome inſolent actions of the Jews, either really committed, or boldly invented, and confidently maintained, gave the clergy an opportunity of preſſing the king to introduce the inquiſition, an aim which at length they obtained; and it happened luckily for them, that ſoon after the holy office was eſtabliſhed a great famine ceaſed, which the prieſts perſuaded the people was the peculiar bleſſing of Heaven on this pious action. It was not long, however, before the bulk of the nation ſaw what a bleſſing this was, but their penetration came a little too late; for by this time the authority of that inexorable tribunal was riſen to ſuch a height, that it was equally

A.D. 1525.

Prevailed on by the clergy to introduce the tribunal of the inquiſition into his dominions.

[g] Maffæi Hiſt. Indic. Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

[h] Sandoval, Andrada. Ferreras, [i] Faria y Souſa.

unſafe

unsafe and ineffectual to aim at disclosing the miseries and inconveniencies that had attended it (B).

The infant Don Lewis, duke of Beja, attends the emperor Charles V. into Barbary.

The Moors began at this time to reduce some of the Portuguese garrisons in Africa, and to extend their power very considerably. The Turks also sent the famous Barbaroſſa to give the Christians all the trouble in his power, who having overthrown the king of Tunis, became very formidable. This power induced the emperor Charles the Fifth to make an expedition for the restitution of that city to its old monarch; in which he desired and received the assistance of Portugal: the king sending two or three very large ships, and a numerous squadron besides, under the command of Don Antonio Saldagna, with whom went privately the infant Don Lewis, who was received at Barcelona by the emperor with all possible marks of esteem and regard; the king likewise sent after him a hundred thousand ducats for the expences of the campaign, in which he distinguished himself exceedingly, and in a short time became the delight of the whole army [k].

The Turks and Moors attack the Portuguese conquests, but are soon repelled.

Solyman the Second, emperor of the Turks, being solicited by the Mohammedan princes in the Indies, resolved to take up the quarrel against the Portuguese, as lord of

(B) There is something very dark in the introduction of the inquisition in Portugal, so that even the most intelligent authors are far from being well agreed either as to the time or manner of it. It is said that a certain monk, one Juan Perez de Saavedra, a native of Cordova, feigned himself cardinal legate for Paul the Third, brought a bull from Rome, appointing certain inquisitors into heresy and other dangerous opinions, which instrument, besides all exterior marks of authenticity, was drawn up with all the care and caution imaginable, and executed by those to whom it was directed with equal vigour and vigilance. However, some suspicions arising, upon a strict enquiry, this bull was found to be forged and counterfeit: for publishing of which the monk was condemned to spend the remainder of his days in the gallies; but, by the interposition of the pope, after some years released. The inquisitors, however, went on in the discharge of their offices, as if the authority by which they were appointed had been the best founded in the world; and the king was persuaded that this was so much for his service, for the benefit of the church, and the welfare of the people, that he not only acquiesced, but actually procured a new bull from Rome for the establishment of the holy office.

[k] Ochoa, Paruta, Raynald, Sandoval, Andrada, Faria y Sousa, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

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Egypt, where the Mamalukes had dropped it, and accordingly sent orders to the bashaw who governed for him there, to employ his whole strength against the Christians. In consequence of these orders, he sailed out of the Red Sea with a greater naval force than the Mohammedans had ever employed before, having four thousand janissaries, and sixteen thousand other land troops on board. Yet the courage of the Portuguese soldiers, and the conduct of their officers, taking the advantage of the insult, cruelty, and perfidiousness of the Turkish general, defeated all this mighty force, and saved their empire from that ruin with which it was threatened. In Africa also the king of Fez was baffled before the town of Safi, and fresh quarrels breaking out amongst the Mooriſh princes, gave great and unexpected relief to the Christians in those parts, who were in a manner quite exhausted by the long continuance of a defensive war. But whenever the cherifs quarrelled with each other, one party was sure to have recourse to the Portuguese, who, by sending them a small supply, preserved quiet to themselves, and had the satisfaction of seeing their enemies employed in destroying each other. Yet in the end even this had bad consequences, for on one hand it kept up a martial spirit amongst the Moors, and on the other it made them acquainted with the Portuguese discipline; so that after every short interval of repose, they not only found them as much enemies as before, but likewise more formidable through constant exercise, and these accidental improvements. A.D. 1538.

Whatever pleasure king John might take in the prospect of foreign affairs, it was much qualified by disagreeable events at home. Don Philip, who was the heir apparent of his dominions, died at six years of age at Lisbon, and his mind was scarce composed, before the empress Isabella, his sister, finished her days at Toledo[l]. The next year was big with more black events, since death bereaved him of his son Don Antonio, and of his brothers Don Alonso and Don Duarte, which renewed his grief for the infant Don Ferdinand, and his two sons, who died some years before[m]. These disasters rendered him not a little melancholy, and this was heightened by an act of treachery, of which the king was so much the more sensible, as it came from a person whom he could never have suspected. This was Don Michael de Silva, bishop of Viseo, brother to the count of Porta- A.D. 1539. *Melancholy events in Portugal.*

[l] Andrada, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Sandoval. [m] Faria y Sousa, Andrada, Le Clede.

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legro, and secretary of his cabinet, who having privately negociated at Rome for a cardinal's hat, on condition of revealing his master's secrets, stole from him some papers of great importance, and then privately withdrew to Rome; where, for this infamous action, he was received with the greatest joy, and, according to the pope's promise, admitted into the college. The king caused him to be outlawed as a traitor, deprived him of his honours and benefices, and forbid all his subjects to hold any correspondence with him on pain of his highest displeasure; which fell upon his brother Don George, count Portalegro, who ventured to write him a letter, for which he was sent prisoner to the tower of Bellem, where he remained till the infanta Donna Maria prevailed on the king to release him, and even then he was banished to Arzila. A.D. 1542. There, by his gallant behaviour against the Moors, he at length effaced the memory of this miscarriage, and recovered his sovereign's favour, who, in the course of his reign, had never proceeded with the like severity against any of the nobility [n], but, however, it had a good effect.

Prince Philip of Castile espouses the infanta Donna Maria of Portugal.

As the emperor was very solicitous to consolidate the close alliance between the two crowns, another marriage between his son, the infant Don Philip, and the infanta Donna Maria, daughter to king John, was proposed, and well received by the court of Portugal; the terms were quickly adjusted, and the princess married by proxy. She did not, however, set out for Spain till some months after, and shewed a visible reluctancy at quitting her own country and family, who made her the like returns of tenderness [o]. The king had a natural son, Don Duarte, archbishop of Braga, whose mother was Donna Isabella Nugnez, daughter to the alcayde of Lisbon; he caused him now to appear for the first time at court, caressed him extremely, and seemed to expect the like regard should be paid him by the rest of the royal family. This young prelate, who was between twenty and thirty, was distinguished by his learning and piety, and his great knowlege in, and application to the Portuguese history, which rendered his father inconsolable for his loss, which happened by sudden death not long after [p]. In the Indies things were carried with a high hand; Don Juan was very circumspect in the choice of the officers he sent thither,

[n] Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas. [o] Sandoval, Andrada, Salazar de Mendoza, Ferreras Historia de Espana, part xiii. sect. xvi. [p] Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Le Clede.

supported

ſupported them thoroughly, and rewarded them amply. In Africa he contented himſelf with keeping on the defenſive, in which, though his ſubjects did wonders, yet his force gradually declined, and he ſaw himſelf at length under a neceſſity of conſtructing, at a great expence, a new citadel at Alcazar, to which he was deſirous the emperor ſhould contribute, as that fortreſs was like to be of more conſequence to Andaluſia than even Portugal or Algarve. When the Portugueſe miniſter ſtated this propoſition to the emperor, he very readily admitted the matter of fact, and as chearfully complied with what king John deſired, who alſo accepted of the order of the Golden Fleece, which hitherto for certain reaſons he had declined [q], and as the emperor had revived this order, he was the more obliged.

The king cauſes many good laws to be made for the benefit of his ſubjects.

This good correſpondence, however, between the two crowns, did not in the leaſt abate king John's attention to his juſt rights, or render him in the leaſt paſſive when they were violated. He underſtood that there was one Antonio de Peſquera, a merchant at St. Lucar, who carried on privately a great trade to Guinea and the Brazils, upon which he gave orders to Vaſco Lorenzo to keep an eye upon him. Accordingly Peſquera having fitted out his veſſel for a new voyage, Vaſco came up with, and took him in the height of the Canaries. Of this capture the archduke Maximilian, who was regent of Spain, complained very loudly, as Peſquera was taken within the dominions of the crown of Caſtile, and before he had engaged into any illicit trade; and thereforeu pon the firſt application of the Imperial miniſter, the king ordered him to be ſet at liberty, and his own officer to be ſent to priſon; but he ordered his ambaſſador to tell the archduke, that he did not do this becauſe he thought Peſquera innocent, or his own officer at all to blame, but that he might ſhew him how exactly he complied with treaties, and the manner in which he expected they ſhould be complied with [r]. The king finding that wealth and indolence had rendered the kingdom in ſome meaſure defenceleſs, very wiſely eſtabliſhed a militia. By another law he reſtrained the breeding of mules, that he might be the better able to remount his cavalry, and prevent that fine breed of horſes, for which his dominions had been famous, from being loſt or injured. He gave rewards for hunting wolves, as well for the ſake of deſtroying thoſe ravenous creatures,

[q] Sandoval, Ochoa, Mayerne Turquet. [r] Andrada.

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as to revive an active and manly spirit amongst the common people; but another regulation he made at the same time, though nothing could be better intended, had consequences of the most pernicious kind [s]. The king had hitherto had an eye to all business himself, and had shewn great sagacity in the choice of ministers, but as he could not do every thing at once, there wanted not some complaints, that affairs were not dispatched, which put the king upon imitating the practice in Castile, leaving most of the affairs of government to council, and dividing that council into boards, or committees, for different purposes. To which an able and honest Portuguese historian attributes the declension of the kingdom; for irresolution, feuds, and perhaps corruption, crept into these boards; and if affairs went slowly before, they now either went not at all, or went so fast that justice could not keep pace with them [t].

A.D. 1550.

Marriage concluded between the prince of Portugal, and the infanta Donna Joanna.

On the death of pope Paul the Third, the king sent orders to his minister at Rome to employ every method practicable for raising his brother cardinal Henry to the papal throne, and he demanded likewise the assistance of the emperor and the French king, to which he thought himself well intitled, by his near relation to the one, and the alliance that had so long subsisted with the other. He was promised, and deceived by both. Cardinal de Monte was chosen, and assumed the name of Julius the Third [u]. The copper money in Portugal being intrinsically of a higher value than what it was coined for, it was gradually carried out of the kingdom; upon which one of the new councils devised a large new copper coinage under the intrinsic value, which was thereupon counterfeited abroad, vast quantities of it brought in, and silver and gold carried away [w]. It is possible the king did not fully understand this matter, but his good sense should have engaged him to enquire, and his interest inclined him to listen to those who did. The Spanish and Portuguese coasts were at this time miserably infested by pirates under Turkish and French colours; to remedy which evil king John determined to fit out guard-ships; but considering with himself that these might prove little better if not under due regulations, he concerted measures with the emperor, who also fitted out others, and the instructions of their officers being reciprocally exchanged, it was impossible for them

[s] Andrada. [t] Faria y Sousa, Le Clede. [u] Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Sandoval. [w] Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas.

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to find their account in any thing but doing their duty. The prince Don Juan being now near man's estate, it was thought highly expedient that he should marry, and the princess fixed upon was the princess Donna Joanna, daughter to the emperor, niece to the king of Portugal by the mother, and to the queen by the father's side. The treaty was quickly concluded; the portion fixed at three hundred and fifty thousand ducats; the duke of Aveyro and the bishop of Coimbra were sent to receive her on the frontiers towards the end of November. She was met by the king soon after she entered his dominions, and by him conducted to Lisbon, where the marriage was solemnized with such splendor as had been scarce seen in Portugal before [x]. A.D.1552.

Death of the prince of Portugal and birth of Don Sebastian.

In Barbary the Moors gained ground; for the king, apprehending the projects of his predecessors impracticable, began to bound his own to the preservation of the fortresses upon the coast, which, though not pleasing to the generality of his subjects, was perhaps a measure necessary to his affairs, since the expence of men and money was too great to be borne by the kingdom of Portugal, even in its most flourishing state. The joy expressed on the prince's marriage had been heightened by his consort's pregnancy; but this was quickly turned into mourning. He became so uxorious that it was visibly detrimental to his health, upon which, under pretence of tenderness for that of his consort, she was removed into the queen's apartment. The remedy was applied too late, the slow fever which had seized the prince augmented in such a manner as to carry him off on the 2d of January, in the seventeenth year of his age [y]. He was a prince remarkably handsome in his person, of sprightly parts, which made him uneasy under the tuition of Don Pedro Mascarenhas, one of the worthiest and wisest men of that age; who, to gratify the prince, was made viceroy of the Indies, and forced to go thither against his will. Don Juan, if he had remained under his care, might probably have lived to ascend the throne. To conceal the knowlege of his death from the princess, the king visited her out of mourning. She was delivered on the feast of St. Sebastian of a son, to whom that name was given in honour of the A.D. 1553.

[x] Andrada, Sandoval, Ferreras, Mariana, Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, Mayerne Turquet. [y] Ochoa, Andrada, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

saint.

saint [z]. After she recovered her health she appeared inconsolable for the death of the prince: nevertheless, she quitted Portugal in the month of April, in order to assume the regency of Spain [a], and the care of the infant Don Carlos, upon the departure of his father prince Philip, who was on the point of sailing to Flanders to facilitate
A.D. 1554. the negociation of his marriage with queen Mary. Don Pedro d'Acunha, having a squadron of five ships and four gallies on the coast of Algarve, receive intelligence that Hamet Arraez, a famous Mohammedan corsair, was in the bay of Tavira with four gallies, upon which he sailed thither immediately to attack him; but the wind failing, his ships were of no use; however, he very gallantly fell upon the enemy, notwithstanding they were double his number. The two admirals engaged with great fury; at first the Portuguese had the worst, but the Turk boarding them, he was taken; the other gallies sunk one of the infidels and took two, upon which the rest fled. Don Pedro returned victorious to Lisbon; and by the exchange of the corsair, preserved the life of captain Peter Paul, a Mahommedan convert, whom the Turks had otherwise destined to the most exquisite tortures [b].

King John dies of an apoplexy.

The king exerted himself with great spirit in the settlement of Brazil, which he brought into a very good state; caused several strong towns to be erected there, and took all possible methods to encourage the conversion of the natives to Christianity. In this work they met with great difficulty; and the writers of those times describe the Brazilians as the most obstinate, barbarous, and bloody of all the natives then discovered in America; notwithstanding which assertion, it is very certain that the Portuguese were forced to be at great pains to prevent other Europeans from settling amongst or trading with them, whence it may be suspected that those accounts were at least a little exaggerated. The grief of the kingdom for the loss of the prince was renewed by the death of the infant Don Lewis, duke of Beja, on the 27th of November. He was commonly styled the Delight of Portugal; and a very impartial historian assures us, that for piety, learning, sagacity, courage, and generosity, he was not exceeded by any prince of his time. The disputes amongst the nobility, about precedency, were frequently attended with very untoward consequences, which obliged the king to

[z] Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas, Ferreras. [a] Andrada, Sandoval, Mariana. [b] Faria y Sousa, Le Clede.

take

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take a reſolution of ſettling them once for all, which he did by eſtabliſhed rules, that have ſubſiſted ever ſince, and have in a great meaſure prevented the revival of ſuch altercations. He reſtored the luſtre of the univerſity of Coimbra, and brought ſeveral profeſſors thither from Paris. He had other great deſigns in his head, particularly with regard to reformation, which he had puſhed very far with reſpect to religious perſons of both ſexes; but upon a cloſe inſpection into affairs, he found his ſubjects in general to have been ſo much injured by his leaving their concerns to the inſpection of his council, that it affected him to a very great degree; ſo that he was ſeized with a kind of apoplexy, from which he recovered only ſo long as to make the neceſſary preparations for a Chriſtian death, to which, with great calmneſs and reſignation, he ſubmitted June the 6th, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, A.D. 1557 and the thirty-fifth of his reign, to the great regret, and to the irretrievable misfortune of his people. His corps was interred with prodigious pomp in the royal monaſtery of Belem, to which he had been a great benefactor, and [c] dutifully accompliſhed all his father left undone (C).

By

[c] Vaſconcellos, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana, Andrada, Faria y Souſa. Le Clede.

(C) This monarch was in his perſon of a middle ſize, ſomewhat inclined to fatneſs; his eyes were of a lovely blue; and his countenance ſo majeſtic and ſerene, as to excite affection and reſpect in all who came near him. His tenderneſs for his people was ſo great, that nothing could move him to tax them. When his miniſters propoſed it, "Let us be firſt clear (ſaid he) that raiſing of money is neceſſary." When that point was cleared, "Now (ſays the king), let us ſee what expences are unneceſſary." So that frugality was the fund that anſwered all extraordinary demands in his reign. In ceremony he was extremely correct, and carried magnificence to the greateſt height, but very rarely, and upon extraordinary occaſions: at other times he was modeſt in his garb, and very familiar with thoſe about him. He looked upon all ſpectacles as maſquerades, where a man was to be careful in acting his part properly for the entertainment of the people, but was to lay aſide his theatrical air with his fine cloaths. In one thing he far exceeded all his predeceſſors; for though he put an end to the feuds that reigned amongſt his nobility, reconciled all the great houſes, and reſtrained ſome of their prerogatives, yet he kept them in the ſtricteſt dependency, by paying them all poſſible reſpect in public, and being very familiar with them in pri-

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Accession of Don Sebastian.

By this unexpected and unfortunate death of so great a monarch, the crown of Portugal devolved on the head of Sebastian, a child three years old. The regency, pursuant to the king's will, remained in the queen his grandmother, who exercised it with great circumspection and moderation [d]. The Moors supposing that under a minority they might be able to dispossess the Christians of the fortresses they yet held, laid siege in the first place to Masagnan. The queen-regent sent such speedy succours, and promised such rewards to those who should do their duty, that notwithstanding the Moors brought eighty thousand men before the place, they were at length constrained to raise the siege. This was at first magnified as a high proof of the queen's wisdom and capacity; but by degrees the natural aversion of the Portuguese to be governed by a woman, and perhaps also by a Castilian, appeared so visibly, that of her own accord she quitted the administration, and retired into a convent, devolving the power and title of regent upon the cardinal infant Don Henry, who, it was thought, did not dislike the queen's resolution [e]. He presently appointed Don Alexius de Menezes the king's governor, and Gonçales de Camera, and two other priests for his preceptors, being content to apply himself wholly to affairs of state; in which, though he was very profound, yet he had an invincible love for peace, and a noble spirit of equity and justice. By these means the nation in general, and the city of Lisbon in particular, increased in wealth, and the people became every day more and more pleased with the lenity of his administration.

Short account of that young monarch's disposition.

At length the king drawing near the age of fourteen, the cardinal began to prepare all things for delivering up his charge. Authors are very much divided as to the capacity of the young prince, his pupil; for some represent him as a prodigy in point of capacity and abilities; while others would persuade us that he was either deficient in

[d] Epitome de la Vida y Hechos de D. Sebastian Rey de Portugal, par Juan de Baena Pareda, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras. [e] Faria y Sousa.

vate (1). By his neighbours he was always courted and revered; for though he loved peace, his troops were kept full and in constant exercise, a strong squadron at sea, and an exchequer never empty; which precautions deterred insults, and in case of accidents procured immediate satisfaction.

(1) De Le Clede.

parts,

parts, or at certain times frantic, and deprived of the free use of his senses. What seems to be most certain is, that while a child he had a very quick capacity, and a very unusual eagerness for learning, which certainly might have been improved so as to render him a great and a good prince; but those who had the care of him ruined the capacity they should have cultivated, and, by the violence of their practices in his tender years, produced those inconsistencies in his character that were afterwards ascribed to natural imbecility[f]. His governor infused into him an opinion that the distinguishing quality of a king was courage, and courage he represented to him as a contempt of danger however great, which was to be always surmounted, and never avoided. His preceptors on the other hand taught him to place all religion in the abhorrence of infidels; so that from the time he approached man's estate he was in a continual fever, burning on the one hand with a vehement desire of displaying his want of fear, and as earnestly desirous to give the world marks of his implacable hatred to Mohammedism, which he took to be zeal for Christianity. During the time of his minority the cardinal governed him by the assistance of those who were about him, and who for this reason were suffered to go their own way; but by that time he had governed the kingdom three years in his own name, they exerted their power over him for their own advantage, and not only deprived the cardinal of his confidence, but had the boldness also to propose to him resigning his archbishoprick. A.D. 1568.

His ministers cabal, and his favourites intrigue, to the prejudice of the crown and people.

Few kingdoms have been more exposed to a spirit of intrigue than this of Portugal during the reign of Don Sebastian. His grand-mother queen Catharine, and his great uncle the cardinal certainly meant well to him and to the state, but not to each other; and therefore while they were employed in destroying each other in the king's good opinion, they threw him into those hands that ruined both him and his kingdom. Martin Gonçalez de Camera, the brother of his preceptor, was his first favourite, and the person who prevailed upon him to discard Alcaçova who had been long secretary of state; a person of great abilities, and if it had not been for his boundless ambition, very equal to the post he affected of first minister. He bore his disgrace with great firmness, contented himself with publishing through the court what the arts were by which he had been circumvented, and how they might be turned

[f] Le Clede Histoire Generale de Portugal, Faria y Sousa.

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upon their authors [g]. He then withdrew, and left his lessons to work, which they did so effectually, that the court was very soon in confusion. Don Alvaro de Castro, a young man of great spirit and courage, possessed himself of the king's favour from the similarity of their tempers. He drew him into Algarve, under pretence of examining the state of the country, the garrison, and ports. When he had him there, and had shewn him abundance of things, of which he had no true conception before, he began to talk to him very plainly. He told him he meant well, but he knew nothing; that he was totally governed by the Jesuits, who exhausted the treasures of the kingdom in establishments that had a plausible appearance, but which at the bottom were useless, and consequently ruinous, from the want of capacity in those by whom they were directed; and that after all, they were properly the monarchs of Portugal, and he only their minister. The king was astonished at this boldness; but when he recollected and compared facts, he returned to Lisbon as much an enemy to the Jesuits as he had been before their creature. Alvaro de Castro soon discovered that he wanted political abilities, and that he had taught his master to find this out, upon which he recalled Alcaçova, and brought him again into the council; who in return insinuated to the king that Alvaro had a mind to pass for the greater hero of the two, an insinuation which probably would have ruined him if death had not interposed and screened him from disgrace [h].

He declines entering into the league against the Turks, and marriage with a princess of France.

After this succinct account of the intrigues, we will proceed in the detail of the events that happened under this reign. In India and in Brazil things were well administered, and in general the government was regular throughout all Sebastian's dominions; for as soon as he had passed his childhood, he made with his own hands an abridgement of the laws, in the knowlege of which he was very correct, and took care to see them punctually obeyed. He loved war, and had a great propensity to naval affairs; and it was to gratify both at once that he projected an expedition to the Indies; but Alcaçova who had no inclination to attend him thither, set that aside, and substituted Africa in its stead. When, therefore, he was invited by Philip the Second of Spain, to concur in the grand alliance against the Turks, he excused himself, under pretence

[g] Juan de Baena Pareda, Mariana.

[h] Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, Le Clede, Juan de Baena, Ferreras.

that

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that the plague had made such ravages in his dominions, as, notwithstanding the warmth of his inclinations, put it entirely out of his power. He is also said to have declined marrying the princess Margaret de Valois, sister to Henry the Third of France, though the pope sent a cardinal legate to press the match. He soon after made an expedition into Africa, and in a manner by stealth [h]. He first sent over Don Antonio, prior of Crato, with some hundreds of soldiers, carried his principal courtiers over with him from a hunting match, and without equipages. Then he sent for the duke of Aveyro, with such troops and volunteers as he could collect at such short notice; and, when he had them, he spent his time in hunting, and slight excursions, without doing any thing of consequence. At length he returned to Portugal in the month of November, in such tempestuous weather that his subjects gave him up for lost, when they were agreeably surprised by his unexpected arrival in the river of Lisbon [i]. A.D. 1574.

Declares in favour of Muley Hamet against Muley Moloch, king of Fez, Morocco, and Tarudant.

It might have been reasonably imagined, that this disappointment would have opened the king's eyes, and have shewn him the impossibility of invading Africa with success. It was, however, so far from having any such consequence, that it served only to exasperate his martial humour; so that from the very time he came back he meditated nothing else; and those who had a mind to make their court to him, could not do it any other way than by flattering his appetite for conquest. The king was highly delighted by an incident which offered him a pretence for war, though of that he stood in no need. Muley Hamet, king of Fez, Morocco, and Tarudant, had been dispossessed of his dominions by his uncle Muley Moloch. At the beginning of this war Don Sebastian had offered him his troops in Africa, which offer was rejected with contempt; but now being a fugitive, and having demanded succours from Philip the Second of Spain, without effect, he had recourse to the king of Portugal; and that he might the more easily prevail, caused the fortress of Arzila, which his father had recovered, to be restored to the Portuguese. Don Sebastian was in raptures at this event; he looked upon himself as destined to exceed his predecessors in their conquests, and sent Alcaçova to secure the friendship of king Philip, and to procure an interview between them [k]. The minister had all the success he could

[h] Antonio de Herrera, Juan de Baena, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [i] Faria y Sousa, Le Clede, Juan de Baena. [k] Ferreras, Historia de Espana. part xv. sect xvi.

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wish: Philip consented to an alliance, promised the king his daughter, and appointed the place of conference to be Guadalupe. Don Sebastian set out from Lisbon on the 12th of September, accompanied by the duke de Aveyro, the count de Portalegro, and some other persons of dis-
A.D.1576. tinction. Philip represented to him fully and fairly the great difficulties of the expedition; but finding his nephew not to be dissuaded, he promised him fifty gallies, and five thousand men: but the Spaniard did still more; he sent Francisco Aldana, an old and experienced officer, into Morocco, and at his return ordered him to attend Don Sebastian, and give him an account of the state things were in; a task which he performed with great fidelity, but without the least effect [l]. The queen dowager and the cardinal, forgetting all former disputes, united in their endeavours to divert the king from an enterprize which was so apparently inconsistent with his true interest, and so incompatible with the present situation of his dominions. He treated them both with so little respect that his grand-mother quickly broke her heart, and the cardinal, to shew his distaste to this measure, retired to Evora, and came no more either to court or to council; and many of the first nobility followed his example [m], though even these sent their brethren or their children to accompany the king.

King Philip and the principal nobility in Spain and Portugal labour to dissuade the expedition.

The more difficulties appeared, the more obstacles were raised, the more the king seemed determined to persist in his design. As it was impossible to undertake it without money and troops, neither of which could be obtained by ordinary methods, he authorised Alcaçova to take any that he could devise; and as he had a fertile invention, and no other way to maintain himself in that absolute degree of credit which he had with his master, he pushed his contrivances to the utmost. In virtue of a bull of crusade he levied one hundred and fifty thousand ducats on the clergy; he laid a heavy tax upon salt; he augmented the excise; he gave the money of Castile a currency through the dominions of Portugal, and raised it a ninth part of its value; he drew, under the title of exemptions, from the Jews, two hundred and twenty thousand ducats; he extorted loans from such as were in easy circumstances, and

[l] Jornada de Africa, por el Rey Don Sebastiano de Portugal, composta por Hieron de Mendoça, Cabrera, Herrera, Juan de Baena, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [m] Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas.

demanded

demanded free gifts from the nobility. He ſent into Italy, Germany, and Holland to raiſe forces, and he drew from different quarters ſeveral thouſand men, but at a large expence. While theſe preparations were making, he called an aſſembly of the nobility, in which he gave them a large account of the motives and end of his expedition; which he concluded by telling them, he meant to let them know his intentions, but not to receive their advice, and ſo withdrew [n]. This declaration did not hinder his receiving remonſtrances from all quarters: the count de Tentugal, his ambaſſador in Caſtile, wrote him a long, and very free letter upon this ſubject; others of the nobility did the ſame, but in perſon; but none with ſo much freedom as Don Juan de Maſcarenhas, who had ſerved with great reputation in the Indies; upon which the king got his phyſicians to certify, that age might make a man a coward, who was a hero in his youth; upon which Don Juan obſerved, that the advice he had given proved them to be both liars and fools [o]. Laſtly, king Philip ſent the duke de Medina Celi to lay before them the reaſons why he thought his deſign impracticable, and to put him in mind that he had no hand in puſhing him upon his own deſtruction, or in concealing from him the dangers upon which he ſeemed determined to throw himſelf and his ſubjects [p], and this to anſwer no end. A.D. 1577.

The king of Fez endeavours to prevail upon him to deſiſt from this war.

It would lead us much beyond the bounds to which a work of this nature muſt be confined, if we ſhould enter into all the methods practiſed on the one hand by the friends of this unfortunate prince to divert him from this deſign, or, when that appeared impoſſible, to defeat it, and the contrivances he uſed to accompliſh his deſire, and to bring about what ſtrangers and his own ſubjects daily propheſied would prove his deſtruction: let it ſuffice therefore to ſay, that in the midſt of this ſtruggle Don Sebaſtian received a letter from Muley Moloch, againſt whom theſe preparations were made. In this epiſtle he explained to him his own rights, and ſhewed him he had only diſpoſſeſſed a tyrant and a murderer, who therefore had no title to his friendſhip or aſſiſtance. He next aſſured him, that he had no reaſon to be apprehenſive either of the power or the neighbourhood of the Portugueſe; as a proof of which, and as a mark of his eſteem, he was content to

[n] Le Clede Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal, Faria y Souſa.
[o] Juan de Baena, [p] Cabrera, Herrera, Ferreras, Mariana,

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make him a present of ten miles of arable ground, round each of the fortresses he possessed in Africa, which were Ceuta, Tangier, Arzila, and Masagan, to be enjoyed by his subjects without molestation or disturbance. At the same time he addressed himself to king Philip, with whom he lived on good terms, to interpose with his nephew, that things might yet be adjusted, without the unnecessary effusion of human blood [q]. Some say that Don Sebastian did not so much as write an answer to this letter; others that he demanded Tetuan, Larache, and Cape Alguer, as the price of peace, which demand Muley Moloch treated with disdain. The Portuguese writers complain, that Philip the Second did not perform his engagements. The truth was, that he thought the Portuguese ministry would have rendered the enterprize abortive, and have laid the blame upon him, and he was inclined to give them an opportunity of doing this, which was their real intention; but Sebastian's obstinacy got the better of all; upon which Philip collected in haste two thousand Castilian foot, and sent them under Alonso Aquilar, an excellent officer, that he might not seem to abandon his nephew [r].

Don Sebastian, rejecting all reason and advice, persists in his scheme of invading Africa.

When his preparations were in a manner completed, the king offered the regency to his great uncle cardinal Henry, which he roundly and absolutely refused; he then devolved it upon Don George de Almeida, archbishop of Lisbon, Pedro de Alcaçova, his secretary, Francisco de Saa, and Don Juan de Mascarenhas, notwithstanding the two last had steadily and vehemently opposed this enterprize from the very beginning. He first of all appointed Don Lewis Ataida general and commander in chief, a man of great merit and military skill; but taking offence at the circumspection he used, he ordered him to repair to the East Indies, and gave the command to Don Diego de Sousa, a very brave man, but unequal to it in every other respect. On the 17th of June he went in procession to the cathedral, where his standard was blessed by the archbishop; he gave it instantly to Don Lewis de Meneses, with orders to embark the troops as fast as possible; these consisted of nine thousand Portuguese foot; three thousand Germans, which the prince of Orange spared him, under the command of colonel Amberg; seven hundred Italians, under the command of Sir Thomas Stukely, an

[q] Hieron de Mendoça, Cabrera, Herrera. [r] Juan de Baena, Herrera, Faria y Sousa, Ferreras.

English

Engliſh exile, but remarkably brave; the two thouſand Caſtilians before mentioned, and five hundred volunteers, commanded by Don Chriſtopher de Tavora, maſter of the horſe, a man of courage, but without either conduct, or experience. His fleet conſiſted of fifty ſhips of war, and five gallies; his train of twelve pieces of cannon; his tranſports and tenders made up near a thouſand ſail [s]. The king had with him Don George of Lancaſter, duke of Aveyro, Don John, and Don Diego, ſons to the duke of Bragança, Don Antonio, prior of Crato, Don Manuel, biſhop of Coimbra, Don Arias, biſhop of Porto, the count de Vimioſo, Don Juan de Silva, ambaſſador from king Philip, and many others [t].

Embarks his forces at Liſbon.

On the 24th of June the king Don Sebaſtian ſailed from the bar of Liſbon, with a fair wind, and bore for Lagos bay in the kingdom of Algarve, where he remained four days; then he proceeded to Cadiz, where he was magnificently feaſted for a week, by the duke de Medina Sidonia, who took the firſt opportunity, by the command of his maſter, of renewing his repreſentations to the king on the folly of proceeding farther in perſon [u]. But as ſoon as the reinforcements were arrived, the king ſailed for Tangier, with a good detachment of troops, and ordered Don Diego de Souza to embark the reſt, and to land them in the neighbourhood of Arzila, where it was three weeks before the king joined them. He met the cherif Muley Hamet at Tangier, with three hundred Moors, who delivered to him his ſon Muley, a boy of twelve years old, as a hoſtage, whom he ſent to Maſagan under a guard; but the cherif himſelf accompanied the king to Arzila, where it was reſolved in a council of war to reduce Larache; but whether to march thither by land, or to reimbark the troops and proceed by ſea to that place, admitted a long debate. At length the march was approved, chiefly by the king's influence, and orders were given to advance directly to the river Luco, which they were to ford. The cherif oppoſed this meaſure, but the king gave him ſo rude an anſwer, that he left his preſence in diſcontent. On the 29th of July the army began its march, and encamped two leagues from Arzila. There Don Franciſco Aldana joined them, who preſented the king with a letter from the duke of Alba, in which he adviſed him to

[s] Hieron de Mendoça, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet. [t] Faria y Souſa, Juan de Baena, Hieron de Mendoça, Mariana. [u] Cabrera.

think

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think of nothing beyond taking Larache, and a helmet which had been worn by Charles the Fifth.

The monarch of Fez marches againſt him with a numerous army.

On the other hand, Muley Moloch having intelligence that the king's fleet was arrived before Arzila, marched from Morocco with ſixty thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot. In his paſſage, finding reaſon to ſuſpect that part of his army were inclined for his competitor, he declared that ſuch as were diſpoſed to join their old maſter were at liberty to do it, which permiſſion was accepted by ſome few, and punctually complied with. There was a corps of three thouſand horſe, of whom he ſtood likewiſe in ſome doubt; he ſent theſe to reconnoitre the enemy, and by that act of confidence he ſecured them. He was yet under ſome uneaſineſs as to his officers; for though he was not afraid of the Portugueſe troops, he was very apprehenſive of their money, and of the knowlege his competitor had of thoſe who were moſt likely to take it. To guard againſt this inconvenience, he changed the diſpoſition of his army entirely, ſo that none of his officers commanded the corps which had been under their orders; and having new men to deal with, had conſequently none whom they could truſt. It is wonderful he was able to take theſe precautions, conſidering he was ſo ill of a fever, that he was unable to ſit his horſe; notwithſtanding which he marched directly towards the Portugueſe, and on the 3d of Auguſt encamped within a league of Alcazarquivir, within ſight of the Chriſtian troops, with a full reſolution to give them battle, his brother Muley, governor of Fez, commanding under him [w].

Don Sebaſtian calls a council.

As ſoon as the ſcouts of the Mooriſh army were perceived, Don Sebaſtian called a council of war, in which, contrary to cuſtom, there was much order and moderation. The count de Vimioſo, and thoſe, who out of complaiſance to the king, had given their opinions for this march, were now for returning. They ſaid the enemy were maſters of the ford, and of the river; that there was no forcing them in their poſts immediately; and that it was impoſſible for them to wait a more favourable opportunity, as they had no victuals. The foreign officers, whom they were now glad to hear, had changed their opinion, and were now for fighting; not becauſe they thought it more reaſonable than before, but that now it was become neceſſary. This ſtep was vehemently oppoſed by the cherif, who ſaw very clearly, that they ran the

[w] Herrera, Le Clede, Ferreras.

hazard

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hazard of being defeated, and of losing all, and were not sure of gaining any thing, even if they were victorious; whereas, if they drew down towards the sea, and intrenched, they might be relieved by their fleet, during which space, if Muley Moloch died, he looked upon it as a thing certain that a great part of the army would desert to him, a circumstance which would render him master of three kingdoms, and of the fate of the Christians also. When he found that the king was bent on fighting, he only desired that he would delay the engagement till four o'clock in the afternoon, that in case things went amiss, they might have some chance of escaping in the night; but even in this request he could not prevail, for the king disposed every thing for an engagement the next day, which was the 4th of August; and it was not at all owing to him that he did not begin as soon as it was light. Muley Moloch now so clearly perceived his advantage, that he was inclined to make the Portuguese army prisoners; but finding his strength, and even his life, sinking, he had taken the resolution of fighting that very night, fearing those very events in which his competitor Muley Hamet placed all his hopes; so that after all, if the cherif's advice had been taken, things might have gone otherwise than they did; but the king wanted experience and judgment[z].

Disposition of both armies.

The disposition of the Christian army was very regular and correct, through the care of Aldana and other old officers: the infantry were disposed in three lines; the battalion of volunteers made the vanguard; colonel Amberg, with his Germans, and sir Thomas Stukely with the Italians, were on the right; the Castilian battalions on the left; the Portuguese regiments in the center and in the rear; the cavalry, consisting of about fifteen hundred men, partly on the right under the command of the duke of Aveyro, to whom the cherif joined himself with his horse; on the left was the standard royal, and the rest of the cavalry, under the command of the duke of Barcelos, eldest son to the duke of Bragança, Don Antonio, prior of Crato, and several persons of great rank. The king took post at first with the volunteers. Muley Moloch disposed his troops also in three lines: the first consisted of the Andalusian Moors, commanded by three officers who had distinguished themselves in the wars of Granada; the second of renegadoes; and the third of the natives of

[z] Hieron de Mendoça, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet, Mariana.

Fez,

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Fez, Morocco, and Tarudant. They moved in a half-moon, with ten thouſand horſe on each wing, and the reſt in the rear, with orders to extend themſelves ſo as to encompaſs the Chriſtian army. Muley Moloch, though extremely weak, was taken out of his litter and ſet on horſeback, that he might ſee how his commands had been obeyed; and being perfectly ſatisfied with the ſituation of his troops, he directed the ſignal of battle to be given, about an hour before noon, by a general diſcharge of his artillery, which was immediately anſwered by the Chriſtians, who advanced with the utmoſt alacrity, and charged with the greateſt ſpirit [y]. This was an effect of that generoſity natural to noble minds, and all the youth of quality in Portugal were preſent.

The Portugueſe defeated and deſtroyed.

Don Sebaſtian, in the beginning of the action, received a muſquet-ſhot in the ſhoulder, which did not hinder his charging at the head of the horſe on the left wing, by whom, by the Caſtilians, by the volunteers, by the Italians, and by the Germans, the firſt line of the Mooriſh infantry was broke, and the ſecond diſordered. On this occaſion Muley Moloch drew his ſword, and would have advanced to encourage his troops, but that his guard prevented him; at which his emotion of mind was ſo great, he fell from his horſe, and one of his guards having caught him in his arms, conveyed him to his litter, where he immediately expired, and had only time to lay his finger upon his lips to enjoin them ſilence [z]. Hamet Taba, a renegade, ſtood by the curtains of his litter, opened them from time to time, and gave out orders as if he had been living. By this time the Mooriſh horſe had quite wheeled round, and charged the Portugueſe in the rear; upon which the cavalry in the Mooriſh left wing made ſo vigorous an effort, that they broke the Portugueſe horſe on the right, and put them into confuſion; and at this time in paſſing a rivulet the cherif was drowned. The Germans, Italians, and Caſtilians did wonders; but the Portugueſe foot, as their own writers ſay, behaved but indifferently. The king had two horſes killed under him. George Albuquerque mounted him on a third. Don Alonſo de Aguilar, Don Gonçalez Chacon, and Franciſco Aldana, all Caſtilians, were killed by his ſide. At length he was ſurrounded by the Moors, who ſeized his perſon, ſtripped him of his ſword and arms, and ſecured him. They immediately fell out amongſt them-

[y] Herrera, Faria y Souſa, Mayerne Turquet, de Mendoça, Jeron Franqui, Le Clede.

[z] Hieron

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ſelves, about whoſe priſoner he was; upon which one of the generals rode in, and crying out, "What, you dogs, when God has given you ſo glorious a victory, would you cut one another's throats about a priſoner?" at the ſame time diſcharging a blow on the head of Don Sebaſtian, over his right eye, brought him to the ground; when, deſpairing of ranſom, the reſt of the Moors killed him. This is by ſome held the moſt authentic account[a]. Others ſay, that Lewis de Brito meeting the king with his ſtandard wrapped round him, Sebaſtian cried out, "Hold it faſt, let us die upon it:" upon which, charging the Moors, he was ſeized, reſcued by Brito, who was himſelf taken with the ſtandard, and carried to Fez. He affirmed, that after he was taken, he ſaw the king at a diſtance unpurſued. Don Lewis de Lima afterwards met him making towards the river; and this Emanuel de Souſa ſays was the laſt time he was ever ſeen alive[b]. Of the whole army not above fifty eſcaped. There fell on the field of battle the count of Vimioſo, Don Lewis de Coutigno, Don Vaſco de Gama, Don Alonſo de Norogno, the counts of Redondo, Videguera, and Mira, Don Diego, ſon the duke of Bragança, the biſhops of Porto and Coimbra, and many others. The young duke of Barcelos, then but twelve years old, and the prior of Crato, were amongſt the priſoners[c]. The plunder of the Portugueſe camp was a prodigious booty, for all the young lords had piqued themſelves upon a very ill-placed magnificence. Muley Hamet, the brother of Muley Moloch, was ſaluted king by the Moors that very night. The victory, however, coſt them dear, for they loſt at leaſt eighteen thouſand men; and thoſe who fled, when the firſt line was broke, made their way to Fez, and publiſhed that the battle was loſt; ſo that when the news of the victory arrived the next day, it was ſcarce believed, more eſpecially as thoſe who brought it acknowleged that Muley Moloch was dead, ſo that it was looked on as an artifice to keep the city quiet; but they were quickly undeceived, and immoderate rejoicings ſucceeded to ill-grounded apprehenſions.

The day after the battle the cherif ordered all the priſoners to be brought before him; amongſt whom was Don Nugno de Maſcarenhas, a domeſtic of the king's, who affirmed he was preſent at his death; he deſcribed

[a] Sebaſtian de Meſa Jornada de Africa. [b] Faria y Souſa.
[c] Cabrera, Antonio de Herrera, Juan de Baena, Hieron. de Mandoça, Le Clede, Ferreras, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

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the manner of it, and the place where he fell; upon which proper perſons were ſent to examine the truth of it, with whom went Sebaſtian Reſende, the king's valet de chambre, who brought back a body which he affirmed to be that of his maſter, and which was acknowleged for ſuch by moſt of the priſoners, who ſaw and examined it. This body, by the cherif's order was depoſited in the houſe of a Jew at Alcaçarquivir. Some time after Philip the Second of Spain ſent over captain Zuniga, as his miniſter, to the cherif, with whom he made an alliance in his maſter's name, procured the duke of Barcelos and the Spaniſh ambaſſador to be releaſed without ranſom; and the ſuppoſed body of Don Sebaſtian, depoſited at Alaçarquivir, was likewiſe given to his catholic majeſty, by whoſe direction it was ſent to Ceuta. The governor having given an authentic receipt for it, tranſported it from thence to Portugal, where it was interred with the reſt of his anceſtors in the monaſtery of Belem, with all poſſible ſolemnity; and with the like ceremony his obſequies were obſerved at Madrid [d] (D). This was the end of Don Sebaſtian,

[d] Cabrera, Antonio de Herrera, Siguenca, Juan de Baena, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras.

(D) All the pains taken to authenticate the death of this monarch could not effect it, and plauſible anſwers were given even to thoſe which ſeemed the moſt direct proofs. As for inſtance, it was ſaid, that his valet de chambre brought a body to Muley Hamet, and owned it for his maſter's, that he might ſtop all farther ſearches, and facilitate his eſcape. The nobility of Portugal, who ſaw and owned this body, are ſaid to have acted from the ſame motive; and ſome of them after they came back did acknowlege, that it was ſo disfigured with wounds and blood, that it was impoſſible to know it (1). Yet it was this body that king Philip received from the Moors; it was this body that was delivered to the Portugueſe; it was this body that was interred at Belem; and it was upon the ſuppoſition of its being the body of Don Sebaſtian, that Philip the Second cauſed his obſequies to be celebrated at Madrid. However Don Antonio, prior of Crato, always affected to ſpeak doubtfully of this event. In the reign of the king and cardinal Henry, there was a rumour prevailed, that Don Sebaſtian was actually returned into Algarve; and a perſon has been named who is ſaid to have carried a meſſage from Don Se-

(1) Jornada de Africa, Hiſtoire veritable des derniers Guerres ſade enues en Barbarie, &c. Meſa Baena.

baſtian

baſtian, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign; who, by his obſtinate imprudence, ſacrificed himſelf and his ſubjects; for he left the kingdom in a moſt exhauſted ſtate, deprived of men, money, and reputation, moſt of her nobility ſlain, and ſcarce an ancient family which had not ſome member or other in ſlavery; ſo that a country which, at the demiſe of king John was the wonder and envy, became in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time the object of amazement and pity to all Europe (E). A.D. 1578.

At

baſtian to that king, whoſe ambition is ſaid to have ſtifled all affection for his nephew (2). Be this as it will, it is very certain that there were ſeveral impoſtors who aſſumed the name of this prince, as we have ſhewn in the hiſtory of Spain; and we ſhall hereafter mention one, with reſpect to whom it is by no means clear whether he was an impoſtor or not (3). But though his hiſtory be very marvelous, yet there is nothing in it ſo ſtrange as that there ſhould be ſtill perſons in Portugal, and perſons in other reſpects of good ſenſe, who would die martyrs for their opinion, that he is yet miraculouſly preſerved; and that ſome time or other he will be again ſeated on the throne of Portugal.

(E) As to the perſon of Don Sebaſtian, he was above the common ſize, his body well proportion, his eyes blue, his countenance pleaſing and majeſtic, extremely adroit in his exerciſes, prodigiouſly ſtrong, incapable of fear, magnificent, generous, affable, full of juſtice, piety, and truth. The current of the beſt hiſtories make it apparent, that this expedition and his end proceeded entirely from himſelf. His appetite for glory was ſo ſtrong, that nothing could reſtrain him; his contempt of danger ſo great, that he wore green armour in the battle of Alcaçar, that he might be the more eaſily diſtinguiſhed by friends and foes. But notwithſtanding this, ſome, and particularly Brantome, have laboured to induce the world to believe the king was perſuaded, or rather ſeduced, to invade Africa by the Jeſuits, who were in the intereſts of king Philip. That the Jeſuits were the authors of the expedition, and of the king's misfortunes, is certainly true in one ſenſe, but not in this (4). They inſpired him with the notions that undid him; but certainly they had not this in view; for, in his firſt expedition, which was as wild and deſperate as the laſt, it was the pathetic letter of father Gonçalez, of that order, which induced him to return; and if Philip is to be acquitted of any accuſation that was ever brought againſt him, this ſeems to be that which is moſt

(2) Avantures admirables du Roy de Portugal D. Sebaſtian.
(3) Mayerne Turquet, De le Clede. (4) Bayle.

deſtitute

The accession of king Henry.

At the time the fleet arrived in Portugal with the melancholy news of the defeat at Alcaçarquivir, cardinal Henry was at Alcobaçar, of which royal monastery he was abbot: the regency immediately sent him notice of it; upon which he came to Lisbon, where, on the 22d of August, in the house of the duke of Bragança, he assumed the title of protector; and on that day se'ennight, having received the news of the king's death, after celebrating mass in the church of the hospital of All Saints, he assumed the crown, being then in the sixty-seventh year of his age[e]. He was at this time archbishop of Braga, Lisbon, and Coimbra, from which, and from the abbey of Alcobaça, though he drew an immense revenue, he was far from being rich; neither was the wealth of these ecclesiastical preferments at any time better bestowed. He was an enemy to pomp, without vices, sincerely pious, and had been hitherto occupied in providing for the education of poor children, relieving the sick and infirm, building hospitals for the aged, giving fortunes to young women disposed to marriage, and encouraging men of letters. This great change in his circumstances made some in his conduct: he shewed that he was not altogether so free from spleen as had been imagined: he removed Alcaçova from his employments, banished Lewis de Silva, and some others who had treated him ill under the reign of his hephew[f]. King Philip immediately dispatched Christopher de Moura to compliment him upon his accession, and to sound his inclinations, which he found to be entirely favourable to Catha-

[e] Faria y Sousa, Hieron de Mendoça, Cabrera, Herrera, Ferreras. [f] Epitome de las Historias y Portuguesas, Antonio de Herrera, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet.

destitute of proof (5). It may be said with more probability, that the pope instigated him to this fatal expedition, for he sent him one of the arrows with which the infidels pierced St. Sebastian; and, like the poisoned shirt bestowed upon Hercules, this gift continually tortured him and spurred him on to revenge (6). The pope likewise granted him bulls, by which he raised money upon his clergy, and sent a nuncio to compliment him upon his zeal for the Christian faith. Yet all this might be without any intention to promote his ruin, though the pope set up a claim to his dominions as well as the king of Spain.

(5) Faria y Sousa, Mayerne Turquet, De le Clede. (6) Mendoça, Baena Cabrera.

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rine, ducheſs of Bragança. He treated the poor king, however, with civility and reſpect, and adviſed him to take every meaſure he could to make his own life eaſy. The return of Don Antonio, prior of Crato, did not much contribute to this eaſe. He found means to get out of Barbary, by pretending to be a poor eccleſiaſtic, and that he ſhould loſe his benefice if he did not return within a limited time; upon which a Jew either paid, or became bound for his ranſom. He ſet out for Ceuta, and from thence came to Liſbon, where he began to cabal This conduct provoked the king his uncle extremely, who never had any good opinion of him, and now thought of him daily worſe and worſe[a]. The bulk of the people ſeemed deſirous that Henry ſhould marry, and preſſed him to ſend ambaſſadors upon that head to the pope; a ſtep which for ſome time he declined: at length they were nominated, but did not go. However, Philip II. diſcovered that this prince was more a politician than he expected; and that he had privately directed his agents to apply to pope Gregory XIII. upon this head. The Spaniſh ambaſſador had orders to take every method poſſible to prevent it. The pope, notwithſtanding, directed a particular congregation of cardinals to conſider this point, who reported to him, that it was not fit for him to grant a diſpenſation; yet the agents of Henry ſtill ſolicited with ſo much zeal, that it was ſuſpected at Rome the cardinal had ſome illegitimate ſon, whoſe title he might have a deſire to help by marrying his mother. It is more probable thoſe agents ſolicited without the king's orders, through an honeſt deſire of ſaving their country from falling under the yoke of foreigners; but their endeavours proved ineffectual; for, under pretence of its requiring mature deliberation, Gregory would decide nothing; and though he made a merit of this indeciſion to king Philip, yet the true reaſon of his conduct was, that he had a mind to frame a title of the holy ſee to the crown of Portugal, or at leaſt to eſtabliſh in himſelf the ſole right of judging to whom the ſucceſſion of that crown belonged: in order to which it was equally neceſſary to him and to king Philip, that this cardinal monarch ſhould die without iſſue.

His crown but a crown of thorns.

All monarchs, however great and happy, have, notwithſtanding ſome cauſes of chagrin; but Henry of Portugal had every thing to chagrin, and no one circumſtance to conſole or content him. He heard nothing from the

[a] Faria y Souſa, Le Clede Hiſt. Gen. de Portugal.

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hour he was ſeated upon the throne but enquiries who was to be his ſucceſſor, and ſaw plainly that the utmoſt he had to expect was to be confeſſed ſole and ſupreme judge of this point; which moſt writers ſeem to agree he might have been, if he had ſhewn a ſufficient degree of ſteadineſs and courage; but his profeſſion, his age, and his circumſtances conſidered, we need not wonder that this was wanting. There were but five titles, out of many, that deſerved to be conſidered; and of theſe there were three, at leaſt, in reſpect to preference, of which it was not eaſy to decide. The firſt of theſe was the prince Ranuccio of Parma, whoſe mother, Donna Maria, died about two years before: ſhe was the eldeſt daughter of the infant Don Duarte, and conſequently her ſon claimed to be the legal heir of the crown. The next was the ducheſs of Bragança: ſhe was the ſecond daughter of the ſame prince; but ſhe affirmed, or rather her lawyers affirmed for her, that the civil law did not allow the benefit of repreſentation beyond the third degree of propinquity to the laſt poſſeſſor; ſo that ſhe being nearer by a degree to the reigning king than her nephew Ranuccio, ought to be preferred before him. She likewiſe claimed to be preferred before Philip, who ſtood in equal degree to king Henry, becauſe ſhe claimed under a male, and he under a female. Philip II. was the ſon of the infanta Donna Iſabella, ſiſter to the infant Don Duarte. The duke of Savoy claimed, in right of his mother Donna Beatrix, who was the younger ſiſter of Donna Iſabella above mentioned. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, aſſerted, that the infant Don Lewis, duke of Beja, was privately married to his mother; which allegation, if he could have made it out, would have given him a better title beyond compariſon than any of theſe; but not againſt Catharine de Medicis, queen-mother of France, who ſet forth, that ſhe was deſcended from Robert the ſon of Don Alonſo III. by his firſt wife Maud; ſo that all the kings of Portugal, from Don Denis, were uſurpers, and therefore it was high time to reſtore the crown to her who was the laſt of the right line. To this claim there lay one pretty ſtrong objection, taken from the will of the counteſs Maud, from whence it clearly appeared, that ſhe never had any children by Don Alonſo [x]. The pope alſo put in his claim,

[x] Epitome de las Hiſtorias y Portugueſas, Cabrera, Antonio de Herrera, P. Daniel, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet, Ferreras, Le Clede Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal, Diſcurſo ſobre la Succeſſion al

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claim, and inſinuated a double right; firſt, becauſe the holy ſee had either given or confirmed the regal title to Don Alonſo Fitz Henry; which, however, was denied by all the laity of the kingdom of Portugal, who affirmed, it was given him by their anceſtors, and which was more, that they purchaſed it too by their blood. The ſecond claim was taken from the reigning king, to whom, as a cardinal, the ſee of Rome was heir. But this was denied, becauſe in point of civil ſucceſſion no ſuch title had been ever admitted. After all, the beſt title was deſtitute of ſupport, or otherwiſe the prince of Parma muſt have prevailed. The ducheſs of Bragança had in the beginning the king in poſſeſſion for her, and the ſtatutes of Lamego, which were either valid, or all the kings from John I. were uſurpers. King Philip had his own power, and by far the beſt advocates; for he was one of thoſe kings who thought the pen at leaſt as good a weapon as the ſword; and therefore attempted nothing without a previous appeal to the judgment of mankind, which he often courted. Don Antonio's claim was in right of blood; but his beſt ſupport was the favour of the people, and particularly of the Jews; and therefore it was ſometimes given out, that in the preſent perplexed ſtate of things, the right originally derived from, devolved again to the people.

His timid and unſteady conduct.

In this unhappy and confuſed condition of public affairs, it was a great misfortune that all power of rendering them better, or indeed of reducing them into any degree of order, depended upon the king. It is believed, and it is highly probable, he meant well; but at the ſame time it is univerſally allowed that he acted ill: he removed ſome men of merit, and more of capacity. Thoſe he brought in were, like himſelf, mild and moderate; but no way ſuited to the juncture in which they were employed; ſo that, except ſuppreſſing the ſalt-tax, there was ſcarce a right ſtep taken during his reign; ſo very eaſy a thing it is for a king to be a very good man, and yet not a good prince. He really wiſhed the good of his people, but wanted the ſpirit, courage, and ſkill neceſſary to take proper meaſures for preventing the miſeries with which they were threatened. The ſtates of the realm deſired him to declare his ſucceſſor, and the magiſtrates of Liſbon preſented to him ſtrong remonſtrances on the ſame ſubject.

al Reyno de Portugal ſiendo vivo el Rey D. Henrique, Allegaçoens de Direyto que ſe Offercer ao a el Rey D. Henrique por parte da Senhora D. Catherina Duqueſa de Bragança.

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He answered them it was a matter deserved much and serious reflection; but he would in time provide for the succession. He was undoubtedly inclined to the duchess of Bragança, and encouraged the lawyers of Coimbra to write for the maintenance of her title, in order to prepare the world for the declaration he was disposed to make in her favour; and had he clearly and expressly declared her his successor, and got her acknowleged as such by the states of Portugal, which might easily have been done, the kingdom would, in all probability, have united in supporting her interest against Philip, and the miseries which ensued upon a different conduct, in a great measure prevented. What diverted, or rather withheld him from taking that step, was his fear of a civil war between her and Don Antonio, who was favoured by the common people. Incapable of taking a vigorous step, finding almost equal difficulties in all that were suggested, and uncertain what party to take, he fought only to gain time, and put off a declaration which was absolutely necessary for the quiet and safety of the kingdom, and the delay of which could not but prove fatal. This was the worst party of any that could be taken; yet he resolved to cite all that laid claim to the crown to appear before him, and produce their respective reasons. His age and infirmities were such, that it was not likely he could live till a decision. He proposed, therefore, to appoint five governors, with a sovereign authority during the interregnum, and to oblige the people to swear obedience to them, whilst they examined, at their leisure, the titles of the candidates, and till they had pronounced sentence on their several pretensions. The world was very justly amazed at this resolution, and the people complained of the slowness of his determination, when he could not flatter himself with hopes of living to behold the end of the cause. They railed openly at his ministers and measures, and maintained that he ought himself to decide the right of succession, to declare his successor, and see that he took an oath to preserve the rights and privileges of the nation; and that it was too tedious in the present perilous juncture even to wait an assembly of the states, their condition and situation requiring an immediate declaration [y].

At last obstinate in wrong measures.

Henry, however, was positive, or rather obstinate, in his resolution; and calling together the states to confirm it, they met at Lisbon on the 1st of April. He asked their

[y] Cabrera, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede, Ferreras.

advice

advice how to provide for the good of the realm, but ſcarce two perſons agreed in the ſame ſentiment. In this confuſion he talked in private with the principal perſons of the clergy, nobility, and gentry, and prevailed with them not to inſiſt on his naming a ſucceſſor at that time, but to conſent to his regulation. It was reſolved, that he ſhould hear the reaſons of the ſeveral candidates, and give his judgment thereon; but this judgment was not to be publiſhed till after his deceaſe. In caſe he died before this was done, the affair of the ſucceſſion was to be decided by eleven perſons to be choſen by the king out of twenty-four named by the ſtates; and the government of the realm during the interregnum was to be in the hands of five perſons appointed by his majeſty out of fifteen recommended by the ſtates, all the members whereof ſwore to obey the governors ſo choſen, and the perſon who ſhould be declared ſucceſſor[z]. The ſtates being diſſolved, Henry cited the candidates. Ferdinand Farneſe, biſhop of Parma, came to ſupport the intereſts of the young prince Ranuccio, who was ſtill a child, and might have been bred up as the Portugueſe pleaſed; Charles de la Rouere appeared for the duke of Savoy; and Urban de St. Gelais, biſhop of Cominges, for Catharine de Medicis, who was admitted to ſet forth her claim, but could not ſupport it by any proof. Philip ſuſpecting as well the goodneſs of his cauſe, as Henry's diſpoſition towards him, refuſed to appear, alleging, that a king's power ceaſed at his death, and he could bequeath no authority to governors; nor had he in his own life any power to judge of the rights of his ſucceſſor, or take them away by his ſentence. The duke of Bragança appeared to ſupport his conſort's pretenſions; as Don Antonio did to ſupport his own. Theſe two laſt quarrelled, and the animoſity between them raiſed a great diſturbance in the court. Henry ordered the former to retire from thence, and the latter to his priory; yet the duke returned ſoon to maintain his cauſe in perſon; a favour which was not indulged the other. Antonio complained of this inequality of treatment; yet ſent his agents and witneſſes to make out his title; but the latter either recanting, or diſagreeing in their depoſitions, he was declared illegitimate. Inſtead of retiring to Crato, he went over the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom to court the populace. This proceeding incenſed Henry ſo highly, that he iſſued out a proclamation againſt him, confiſcated his

[z] Antonio de Herrera, Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas.

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goods, and baniſhed him the kingdom in fifteen days [a]. Antonio not obeying this order, but lurking in ſecret, and being protected by the people, ſo that he could not be taken or diſcovered, was ſummoned to court; but did not come, being afraid to truſt himſelf in the way of the king's reſentment. King Philip, though he would not appear in form to ſupport his claim, ſent firſt Chriſtopher de Moura as his ordinary ambaſſador, and afterwards the duke of Oſſuna as an extraordinary one, to take care of his intereſts [b]. He wrote alſo to the chief cities of Portugal, repreſenting his deſcent from the royal blood of their kings, the kindneſs he had ſhewed, and the good offices he had done their countrymen, priſoners in Barbary, offering to augment their privileges, flattering them with the expectations of great benefit from a free trade to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, and laying before them every thing that they had either to hope or fear from his power. His ambaſſadors were continually ſoliciting Henry to declare him his ſucceſſor, and neglected no meaſures that could be ſerviceable to carry their point. They did not fail to employ money properly, and by large preſents, and larger promiſes, they drew in ſeveral perſons of quality. But however notable their management, and conſiderable their ſucceſs were, he would not truſt to them entirely; but aſſembled a powerful army of old Spaniſh ſoldiers, and levied great numbers of new forces in Italy and Germany, reſolved at any rate to make himſelf maſter of Portugal.

The ſtates labour to ſet him right in vain.

The timid and diſeaſed old king, ſeeing theſe preparations, was afraid of declaring the ducheſs of Braganza, whom he judged unable to reſiſt Philip, eſpecially ſince the affections of the common people were ſo much ſet on Don Antonio, that a civil war was expected to be raiſed within the kingdom at the ſame time that it was attacked by the Spaniards from without. His apprehenſions of Antonio's popularity were ſo ſtrong, that he raiſed new companies of guards for the ſecurity of his perſon. Theſe fears were ſo improved by Leon Henriquez, a Jeſuit, his confeſſor, who had a vaſt aſcendant over him, and who, though he had been at firſt for Catharine, was now gained over to Philip's party, that he was brought to think the only way to ſave the nation from that immediate ruin that threatened it, was to compromiſe things with Philip, and declare that prince his ſucceſſor [c]. This deſign he commu-

[a] Cabrera, Ferreras. [b] Antonio de Herrera, Mariana, Faria y Souſa. [c] Cabrera.

nicated

nicated to the Spaniſh ambaſſadors, and ſent the project of accommodation with great ſecrecy to Madrid, ſignifying his intention of laying it before the ſtates to obtain their conſent. Philip, though he hoped well of the clergy and the nobility, as being moſt of them gained by his agents, yet knowing the averſion of the people to the Caſtilian government, eaſily imagined it would be impracticable to obtain the concurrence of the third eſtate. He propoſed therefore conſulting the cities ſingly, and uſed ſtrong remonſtrances againſt aſſembling the ſtates, who having already given the king power to declare his ſucceſſor, there was no need of calling them again. But Henry was not now, more than formerly, to be diverted from his own methods by any reaſons; and the ſtates meeting at the palace of Almerin, January the 9th, he communicated to them his deſign of concluding a capitulation between Philip and the kingdom, as the only expedient of preſerving peace in the nation, which, if Philip ſucceeded to the throne on ſuch advantageous conditions, would receive great benefit by his ſucceſſion. The clergy readily aſſented to the propoſal, and it was, after long debates among the nobility, carried there by a ſingle voice; but it was rejected by the third eſtate [d]. The king had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to get the cities to chuſe deputies to his mind, and to gain ſuch as were returned. He had prevailed in Liſbon to get ſuch elected as he thought moſt dependent on his will; but failed of his point at Coimbra, and in the reſt of the cities. Theſe deputies were unanimous in rejecting all manner of accommodation with the Caſtilians, and Phœbus Moniz, one of the deputies for Liſbon, more attached to him than any other, deſired him, in the name of the reſt, not to give them up to Caſtile; but to declare any Portugueſe whatever his ſucceſſor, and they would be ſatisfied. The king rejecting this advice, and the ſtates perceiving that there were ſome ſecret negociations between one of the claimants and king Philip, declared roundly, that they conſidered themſelves as the ſupreme power, and would fill the throne, whenever it became vacant, by election [e].

Henry dies, and the male line of the Portugueſe monarchy becomes extinct.

In the midſt of theſe diſorders and diſputes king Henry ended his life on the laſt day of the month of January, when he had lived preciſely ſixty-eight years, and had reigned ſomething more than ſeventeen months. The plague being at Liſbon, his body was depoſited at Almerin,

[d] Faria y Souſa, Ferreras. [e] Herrera, Le Clede.

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from whence it was afterwards removed by king Philip to Belem [f] (F). He was the nineteenth sovereign, and the seventeenth king of Portugal, the eighth and last monarch of his house; for in him the male line of the Portuguese princes determined, after having subsisted upwards of four hundred and sixty years. He was very little esteemed, and less lamented, notwithstanding he had done many laudable actions in the course of his life, though very few during that of his reign: yet he lost nothing, for by a timely peace with the cherif, he secured the few places that were still left in Africa, and procured, at a large expence, the return of most of those who survived the battle of Alcaçar: but in respect to the poverty and weakness of the kingdom, both were too visible at the time of his decease, of which, though he was very sensible, yet he knew not how to seek, or how to apply a remedy.

SECT. VII.

The Reduction of Portugal by Philip; the Continuance of it under the Dominion of the Kings of Spain till the Revolution, by which the Duke of Bragança was advanced to the Throne.

Propositions made by Philip.

UPON the death of king Henry, the five governors assumed the administration of the kingdom; and the duchess of Bragança referred her cause to them, pressing for their definitive judgment [a]. Philip also wrote to them in maintenance of his right, offering them the terms upon which Henry had insisted, and sending them a copy of that

[f] Dell' Uione udel Regno di Portogallo alla Corona di Castiglia Istoria di Geronimo Conestaggio, Jo. Ant. Viperani de Obtentâ Portugalliâ à Rege Catholici Philippo Historia, Cabrera, Antonio de Herrera, Faria y Sousa, Le Clede, Ferreras, Mariana, Mayerne Turquet. [a] Manuel Faria y Sousa.

(F) This last king of Portugal much resembled his father; of a middle stature, thin habit of body, very light and lively, and capable of much labour. He understood all the learned languages, was well acquainted with divinity, and had some tincture of the mathematics. He could command his looks much better than his passions; he not only remembered injuries, but revenged them: his judgment was found enough in foreseeing misfortunes, though he had not sagacity enough to find out remedies.

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prince's memorial. He wrote also to the principal nobility, and the five chief cities of the kingdom, to the same effect. The governors, three of whom were in his interest, published the conditions he had granted; importing, that he would take a solemn oath to maintain the privileges and liberties of the people: that the states should be assembled within the realm, and nothing proposed in any other states that related to Portugal: that the viceroy, or chief governor, should be a native, unless the king should give that charge to one of the royal family: that no change should be made in the establishment of the household: that the post of first president, and all civil, judicial, and military offices, should be filled with Portuguese; as well as all dignities in the church, and the orders of knighthood: that the commerce of Ethiopia, Africa, and the Indies, should be reserved also to them, and carried on only by their merchants and vessels: that he would remit the third penny, the crusadoes, and other imposts on ecclesiastical revenues: that he would make no grant of any city, town, or jurisdiction royal, to any but Portuguese: that estates resulting from forfeitures should not be united to the domain, but go to the relations of the last possessor, or be given to other Portuguese for recompence of services: that when the king came into Portugal, where he should reside as much as possible, he should not take the houses of private persons for his officers lodging, as in Castile, but keep to the custom of Portugal: that wherever his majesty resided he should have an ecclesiastic, a treasurer, a chancellor, two masters of requests, with under officers, all of them Portuguese, who should dispatch every thing relating to the kingdom: that Portugal should ever continue a distinct kingdom, and its revenue be consumed within itself: that all matters of justice should be decided within the realm: that the Portuguese should be admitted to charges in the king and queen of Spain's households: that all duties of entry on the frontiers should be taken away: that Philip should give three hundred thousand ducats to redeem prisoners, repair cities, and relieve the miseries which the plague and other calamities had brought on the people. The clergy and nobility were for accepting these offers; but the deputies of towns refused them, believing they would not be long kept [b].

The kingdom betrayed by the regents.

The kingdom of Portugal was at this time in a condition very unfit to oppose the arms of Philip. Besides the

[b] Cabrera, Herrera, Jo. Ant. Viperani, Ferreras.

terrible

terrible blow received two years before in Barbary, an exceſſive drought had ſpoiled their harveſt, and cauſed a famine. The extreme ſcarcity of proviſions, unwholeſome diet, or infected commodities, had occaſioned a plague in Liſbon, which ſpread all over the kingdom. There was no money in the treaſury; and when it was propoſed to the merchants to lend ſo ſmall a ſum as one hundred thouſand ducats, they refuſed. The very capital city of Liſbon was without walls in ſeveral places, and all the forts in the kingdom were deſtitute of garriſons and ammunition. There was, however, ſtill a ſufficient force in Portugal to defend it, had there been any union among the nobility, any ſpirit of obedience among the people, or any head to direct the conduct of both, and put the nation on exerting itſelf with vigour, and collected force. The greater part of the governors were in the intereſt of Philip, and deſirous of delivering up their country into his hands; but this devotion they durſt not declare, and they found that the execution of it was not ſo eaſy as they had imagined. The method they took was none of the moſt honourable: they pretended to inſpect the magazines, out of which they took ſome of the powder, and cauſed the reſt to be mixed with ſand: they appointed an agent to go and demand ſuccours from the crown of France, which they knew could not arrive in time: they diſſolved the ſtates as ſoon as they diſcovered they were bent on rendering themſelves a free people; and, under a ſhew of confidence, they ſent ſuch of the nobility as they moſt ſuſpected to command in different places on the frontiers [c]. Thus, in hopes of advantages which their poſterity never enjoyed, they ſacrificed the honour, independency, and welfare of their country.

The prior of Crato proclaimed king.

About the middle of June, the duke of Alva, by Philip's orders, entered Portugal with twenty thouſand men. Elvas, Olivenza, Serpa, Moura, Portalegro, Eſtremes, and other towns ſubmitted to him without oppoſition, there being Spaniſh factions in all of them ready to force the governors to ſurrender. The people aſcribed all that happened to the five governors, and exclaimed againſt their betraying the kingdom to Philip. Don Antonio, to make his advantage of theſe diſcontents, took occaſion, from the building a fort at Santaren, to get himſelf proclaimed king in a tumult. The project ſucceeded, the

[c] Faria y Souſa, Dell'Unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona de Caſtiglia iſtoria di Geroniimo Conestaggio, Mayerne Turquet, Çabrera, Ferreras.

mob

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mob declared for him, and ſeveral of the nobility were compelled to be witneſſes of the proclamation; but being a man of little judgment, he placed all his hopes in this tumultuary election; which the nobility diſliking, retired to their own houſes, and revolted, as ſoon as the force upon them was removed [d]. This defection was ſo general, that ſcarce any of them ſtood by him but the count of Vimioſo. He was, however, ſo much in favour with the people, and all the religious were ſo zealous for him, that he was proclaimed in almoſt all the towns north of the Tajo; marching to Liſbon, he was received there by the inhabitants who were left in it by the plague, which had made the rich merchants quit the city, as the magiſtrates alſo did upon his approach [e]. From thence he ſent the count of Vimioſo to Setuval, which declaring for him, the governors fled in great confuſion, and gave ſentence in favour of Philip, declaring him king of Portugal, in virtue of the laws [f], who was like to be ſo by force of arms.

His forces beat by the duke of Alva.

Don Antonio being maſter of the capital, ſeized on the arſenal and magazines, and appointed new magiſtrates, officers of juſtice, and miniſters; but as he employed new men without experience, ready to execute all his orders with rigour, the place was ſoon full of violence, rapine, plunder, and all manner of diſorders. He made great offers to the duke of Bragança, the marquis of Villa Real, and other grandees: he wrote alſo to the lower nobility, but very few cared to acknowlege him [g]. He ſent the French conſul to France, to procure a ſuccour of two thouſand men, ſeized the crown jewels, the collections that had been made for redeeming ſlaves in Barbary, the plate of churches, the money depoſited in convents, or given to charitable uſes, and left no means untried to provide a fund ſufficient for the ſupport of an army. He depended on the populace for numbers; but as the peaſants could not leave their work to make a campaign, and he found it impracticable to keep any conſiderable number of them together for above a day, he, to ſupply that defect, armed the Negro ſlaves that were in Liſbon, and publiſhed a proclamation, offering freedom to all that would take up arms [h]. This meaſure gave occaſion to infinite diſorders, thoſe Negroes ſeizing arms, ſtealing horſes, and ſupplying themſelves with every thing they wanted or deſired, where-

[d] Faria y Souſa, Geronimo Coneſtaggio, Mayerne Turquet. [e] Cabrera, Herrera. [f] Campana. [g] Coneſtaggio, Franc. Diaz de Vargas. [h] Jo. Ant. Viperani, Ferreras.

ever

ever it was found. With this hasty ill-armed body of men, he resolved on defending the Tajo, and hindering the duke of Alva's passage. On the other hand, the duke having had the town of Setuval delivered to him by the inhabitants, and received the submission of the kingdom of Algrave, and all the country south of the Tajo, passed the river at Cascaes, by the help of the Spanish gallies, without any difficulty. Cascaes and fort St. Julien being surrendered to him, and Cabezaseca abandoned, the duke marched to Alcantara, where Antonio was posted with all the men he could draw together; but without officers qualified to command, or soldiers that knew how to obey [i]. In this condition his forces, inferior in number and all other respects, were routed August the 25th, when the Spaniards pursuing them to Lisbon, the city was reduced by capitulation, and saved from plunder [k]; but the suburbs, which were much larger and finer than what was inclosed within the walls, and all the neighbouring villages, were sacked for several days together by the soldiers.

Don Antonio compelled to quit the kingdom.

At the beginning of the rout, Don Antonio passed through Lisbon, without stopping to have a wound dressed, fled to Santaren, and from thence to Coimbra. There he once more assembled four or five thousand men; but Sancho de Avila being sent against him, received in his march the submission of Coimbra, Monte Mayor, and Aveyro, forced a passage over the Duero, and, in consequence of that success, took Porto. Antonio quitting this last place, fled to Viana; but being closely pursued by some of the Spanish cavalry, took shipping, in order to retire into France. The wind proving contrary, and the weather stormy, the Spaniards were about to attack the ship; so that he was obliged to quit it, and throw himself disguised into a little skiff, and get ashore near Viana, even in the sight of a party of horse; yet he had the good fortune to escape, and to be concealed privately in the country. A reward of eighty thousand ducats was put on his head, and all endeavours were used to seize his person, but in vain. He travelled about, and often passed in disguise through the midst of those that were in quest of him, without being known. Some even of his retinue and servants were taken as they were getting provisions for his embarkment at Lisbon, and put to death,

[i] Faria y Sousa. [k] Geronimo Conestaggio, Herrera, Campagna, Cabrera, Franc. Diaz de Vargas.

yet

yet they made no discovery where he was. He continued in the kingdom from October to July; was at all the ports of the kingdom seeking for a passage, and at Lisbon when Philip himself was there; but as he could not embark at that place, because his men were taken, he went to Setuval, where, with half a dozen of his most faithful friends, he embarked, and landed safely at Calais [l]. Upon his flight, all the kingdom submitted, and owned the king of Spain; as did the garrisons in Barbary, and all the Portuguese settlements on the coasts of Guinea, in Brazil, the East Indies, and the isle of St. Michael [m]; but the rest of the Madeiras held for Antonio till they were reduced, and the French naval army, sent to their relief, was defeated and destroyed.

Philip takes possession of the dominions of Portugal, and endeavours to gain the affections of the people.

Philip would not seem a conqueror, and therefore did not enter the kingdom till it was entirely reduced; but came to Elvas, where he abolished the duties on entry, which were levied upon all merchandize from the one realm to the other, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand ducats a year. He entered Lisbon in sullen pomp, without acclamations. He called an assembly of the states at Tomar, in April. He confirmed the terms he had offered to the kingdom by his letters: but whereas the duke of Ossuna, by way of security for those conditions, had promised them a law by way of proviso, that if the king did not observe them, the states should be freed from their oath of obedience, and might defend their rights by the sword, without incurring the reproach of perjury, or the guilt of treason; this he absolutely refused to ratify. He endeavoured, but with little effect, to reconcile the Portuguese to his government, and was so lavish in bestowing honours and gratifications, that the Spaniards said he had to his other titles to that crown added that of purchase [n]. This conduct, however, did not satisfy every body; it was calculated to conciliate the affections of the Portuguese to his family, and it failed; but it had an effect which was not foreseen even by a prince whose foresight was his characteristic; it weakened the power; it absorbed the revenues of the crown; it rendered Portugal a province, and a dead weight to his other dominions; and, by putting it out of the power of his successors to be liberal in any proportion, it raised a short-lived gratitude

[l] P. Daniel. Histoire de France. Faria y Sousa, Ferreras. [m] Herrera, Cabrera, Campana, Geronimo Conestaggio. [n] Campana, Cabrera, Herrera, Ferreras.

only

only in a few, and left a multitude of malcontents, to which time was continually adding. The Portugueſe writers ſay, he did not do enough for the family of Bragança: the Spaniards ſay he did too much. It is agreed by both, that the ducheſs was not ſatisfied; and that the duke and his ſon did him homage[o]. Philip laboured to ſupply the defects in his gratifications, by teſtimonies of reſpect and compliment, which at once fortified the ſenſe of the Bragança family of the juſtice of their own title, and heightened alſo the good opinion which had been entertained of it, by the wiſeſt people in the nation.

He is not able to effect this; but on the contrary, diſguſts more than he obliges.

The deputies of the third eſtate preſented a remonſtrance on the ſtate of the nation, preſſing him to ſend the prince his ſon to be educated amongſt them; to withdraw the garriſons of Caſtilians and Italians, which he had put into the ſtrong places; to aboliſh certain taxes; to keep Portugal independent of Caſtile; and to make ſome regulations in juſtice. He agreed to a few of theſe, and thoſe of the leaſt conſequence; the reſt were refuſed or declined[p]. The nobility, having never acted againſt his catholic majeſty, thought nothing could be denied them; and therefore demanded, by a deputation, a juriſdiction over their vaſſals; that the principal employments ſhould be annexed to their body, excluſive of all others; that none ſhould be ennobled for the future, unleſs for very great ſervices, and then for life, ſo that the title ſhould not deſcend. Theſe, and other articles of a like nature, were rejected; ſo that they now began to repent they had not acted in concert to oppoſe his entrance, till they had made their own terms[q]. Before the aſſembly ſeparated, a general indemnity came abroad; but ſo full of reſtrictions, that it by no means deſerved the name. Fifty-two perſons, of the higheſt conſideration, were excepted; not a monk could have benefit thereby, or indeed any who had ever followed Don Antonio, received any honour, dignity, or gratification from, or had any employment under him. All theſe were declared incapable of holding, for the future, any office in the ſtate, or of being continued in thoſe that they poſſeſſed; ſo that the Portugueſe ſaid, the pardon extended to none but ſuch as had never offended, or had nothing to loſe; and were highly exaſperated to find themſelves ſo deceived with regard to their expectations in this reſpect[r]. The excepted perſons were

[o] Faria y Souſa, Gerenimo Coneſtaggio. [p] Cabrera, Ferreras, Mayerne Turquet, Faria y Souſa. [q] Geronimo Coneſtaggio, [r] Jo. Ant. Viperani.

ſummoned

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ſummoned and proſecuted, great numbers of men of quality, and others, were impriſoned, put to death, treated with the utmoſt rigour, or ſent priſoners into Caſtile: even the women were not exempted, their goods being confiſcated, their perſons impriſoned, and ſome of them taken out of convents and ſent into Caſtile: none ſuffered more remarkably than the monks and other religious, of whom he deſtroyed an incredible number, not to ſpeak of thoſe who died by hardſhips, in his priſons: he obtained from the pope, a brief of pardon for two thouſand religious, whom he had put to death in different manners. The carcaſes of many of theſe being thrown into the Tajo, were there taken up, ſome in their habits of monks by the fiſhermen, who thereupon fancying the river to be excommunicated, would not eat of the fiſh, nor follow their uſual occupations, till the archbiſhop of Liſbon, to humour their ſimplicity, went ſolemnly, with the accuſtomed rites, to the river, and abſolved it from the ſuppoſed excommunication. The king ſtaid there much longer than he originally intended, and at his departure left the cardinal arch-duke Albert his viceroy, with a good Portugueſe council about him, and all the exterior marks of power; but with little truſt, and leſs of real authority[s]. Thus in the dawn of Philip's reign the ſeeds were unwittingly ſowed of univerſal diſcontent.

The fruitleſs attempts of Don Antonio, in ſupport of his title.

As for Don Antonio, who had been proclaimed, and ſtill ſtyled himſelf king of Portugal, he firſt retired into France, and there demanded ſuccours for the recovery of his dominions. He found ſo much countenance, that with a fleet of near ſixty ſail, and a good body of troops on board, he made an attempt upon the Terceras, where his fleet was defeated by the Spaniards. A great number of priſoners being taken, all the officers and gentlemen were beheaded, and a great number of meaner people hanged. Don Antonio notwithſtanding kept poſſeſſion of ſome places, coined money, and did many other acts of regal power; but was at length conſtrained to retire, and returned into France[t]. He paſſed from thence into England, where he was well received; and many fitted out privateers to cruiſe againſt the Spaniards under his commiſſion. But after king Philip had ruined the naval power of Portugal, as well as Spain, by equipping the armada, queen Elizabeth made no difficulty of owning and aſſiſt-

[s] Campana, Herrera, Cabrera, Geronimo Coneſtaggio. [t] Faria y Souſa, Franc. Diaz de Vargas, Ferreras.

ing

ing Don Antonio, and even of ſending Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake with a ſtrong fleet, and a great army to reſtore him. Upon this occaſion Don Antonio ſent his ſon Don Chriſtopher a hoſtage to Muley Hamet, king of Fez and Morocco, who was to lend him two hundred thouſand ducats; but king Philip prevented this loan by furrendering Arzila; and this diſappointment, the unſeaſonable enterprize upon Corunna, and the diſputes that aroſe between Norris and Drake, rendered that expedition abortive; ſo that, except carrying the plague into England, it was attended with no conſequences worthy of notice. He remained ſome time after in England; but finding himſelf little regarded, he withdrew once more to France, where he fell into great poverty and diſtreſs, and at length dying in the ſixty-fourth year of his age, his body was buried in the church of the nuns of Ave Maria, with an inſcription on his tomb, in which he is ſtyled king[u]. He left ſeveral children behind him, who, on account of his being a knight of Malta, and having made a vow of celibacy at his entrance into the order, were looked upon as illegitimate. He preſerved even to the day of his death a great intereſt in Portugal, and had drawn from thence, in the courſe of his life, immenſe ſums of money; which had been ſquandered in many fruitleſs negotiations, and attempts to diſturb the poſſeſſions of king Philip in almoſt all parts of his dominions, and particularly in the Indies, where the Portugueſe were rather more averſe to the Caſtilian yoke, or at leaſt teſtified their averſion more openly than in Europe.

Pretenders aſſuming the name and title of Don Sebaſtian taken and puniſhed.

But Don Antonio was not the only pretender to the crown of Portugal. The people, partly through the love of their prince, and partly from their hatred to the Caſtilians, were continually feeding themſelves with the hopes that Don Sebaſtian would appear and deliver them; and in this reſpect ſuch a ſpirit of credulity reigned, that it was ſaid proverbially, they would have taken a Negro for Don Sebaſtian. This humour induced the ſon of a tyler at Alcobaza, who had led a profligate life, and at length turned hermit, to give himſelf out for that prince. Having with him two companions, one of whom ſtyled himſelf Don Chriſtopher de Tavora, and the other the biſhop of Guarda, they began to collect money, and were in a

[u] Memoires de Portugal, Memoires, Hiſtoriques, Politiques, Critiques, & Litteraires, par Amelot de la Houſſaie, Mayerne Turquet, P. Daniel, Mezeray.

fair

half way of creating much disturbance, if the cardinal arch-duke had not caused him to be apprehended, and led ignominiously through the streets of Lisbon. He who took the name of Sebastian was sent to the gallies for life, and the pretended bishop was hanged [w]. Not long after Gonçalo Alvarez, the son of a mason, gave himself out for the same king. Having promised marriage to the daughter of Pedro Alonso, a rich yeoman, whom he created earl of Torres Novas, he assembled a body of about eight hundred men, and some blood was spilt before he was apprehended: at length being clearly proved to be an impostor, he and his intended father-in-law were publicly hanged and quartered at Lisbon [x].

There was, however, a person who appeared about twenty years after the fatal defeat of Alcaçar at Venice, who created much more trouble. He assumed the name of Don Sebastian, and gave a very distinct account of the manner in which he had passed his time from that fatal defeat. He affirmed, that he had preserved his life and liberty by hiding himself amongst the slain: that, after wandering in disguise for some time in Africa, he returned with two of his friends into the kingdom of Algarve: that he gave notice of his return to the king Don Henry: that finding his life sought, and being unwilling to disturb the peace of the kingdom, he returned again amongst the Moors, and passed freely from one place to another in Barbary, in the habit of a penitent: that afterwards he became a hermit in Sicily; but at length resolved to go to Rome, and discover himself to the pope [y]. On the road he was robbed by his domestics, and arrived almost naked at Venice, where he was known, and acknowledged by some Portuguese. Complaint being made to the senate, he was obliged to retire to Padua. But the governor of that city ordering him also to depart, he not knowing what to do, returned again to Venice; where, at the request of the Spanish ambassador, who charged him not only with being an impostor, but also with many black and atrocious crimes, he was seized, and thrown into prison. He underwent twenty-eight examinations before a committee of noble and impartial persons; in which he not only acquitted himself clearly of all the crimes that had been laid to his charge, but entered also into so minute a detail of the transactions that had passed between himself

A.D. 1596.

A very extraordinary person averring himself to be Don Sebastian, appears at Venice.

[w] Faria y Sousa. [x] Le Clede Histoire Generale de Portugal. [y] Grimston's Continuation of Mayerne Turquet.

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and the republic, that the commiſſioners were perfectly aſtoniſhed, and ſhewed no diſpoſition to declare him an impoſtor, moved more eſpecially by the firmneſs of his behaviour, his ſingular modeſty, the ſobriety of his life, his exemplary piety, and his admirable patience under his afflictions [z].

A.D. 1602. *The Spaniards get him into their hands, declare him an impoſtor, but ſpare his life.*

The ſtate, however, refuſed to diſcuſs the great point, whether he was, or was not an impoſtor, unleſs they were requeſted ſo to do by ſome prince or ſtate in alliance with them. The prince of Orange ſent Don Chriſtopher, the ſon of the late Don Antonio, to make that demand, and at his requeſt an examination was made with great ſolemnity; but no deciſion followed, only the ſenate ſet him at liberty, and ordered him to depart their dominions in three days. He went therefore, by the advice of his friends, to Padua, but in the diſguiſe of a monk, and from thence to Florence; where he was arreſted by the command of the grand duke, who delivered him to the viceroy of Naples. The count de Lemos, then in poſſeſſion of that dignity, died ſoon after, before whom he was firſt brought. This man aſſerted, he muſt know him to be Don Sebaſtian, ſince he had been twice ſent to him from the king of Spain [a]. He remained priſoner ſeveral years in the caſtle del Ovo, where he endured incredible hardſhips. At length he was brought out, led with infamy through the ſtreets of the city, and declared to be an impoſtor, who aſſumed the name of Sebaſtian: at hearing which words, he ſaid gravely, "and ſo I am." In the ſame proclamation it was affirmed, that he was in truth a Calabrian, which, as ſoon as he heard, he ſaid, "it is falſe [b]." He was next ſhipped on board a galley as a ſlave; then carried to St. Lucar, where he was ſome time confined; from thence he was transferred to a caſtle in the heart of Caſtile, and never heard of more [c]. Some perſons were executed at Liſbon for their endeavours to raiſe an inſurrection on his behalf; but it was thought ſtrange policy, or rather a ſtrange want of policy in the Spaniards, to make this affair ſo public without proofs; and the attempt to ſilence this objection, by affirming him to be a magician, was juſtly treated as ridiculous. It is very remarkable that Faria y Souſa [d], a very candid and exact writer, who mentions the former impoſtors with

[z] Le Clede. [a] Memoires de Portugal, Spondanus Annal. [b] Grimſton's Continuation. [c] Le Clede. [d] Epitome de las Hiſtorias Portugueſas.

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abhorrence, is altogether silent with regard to this man, whose story is very extraordinary in itself, and having so close a connection with the history of Portugal, we thought best to insert it here, though a little out of the order of time, to prevent repetitions, and that the several cases being produced together, might illustrate each other.

Errors in Philip's administration, which laid the foundation of the Portuguese discontents.

The administration of affairs in Portugal, during the reign of Philip, was certainly detrimental to the nation, and yet it does not appear that this flowed so much from any ill intention in that monarch, as from errors in judgment. His prodigious preparations for the invasion of England impoverished all his European dominions; but it absolutely exhausted Portugal. The pretensions of Don Antonio, and the hopes of despoiling their Indian fleets, exposed the Portuguese to the resentment of the English; from which the king having granted away all his domains, wanted power to defend them. Their clamours were not at all the less loud for their being in some measure without cause. The king, to pacify them, borrowed money from the nobility upon the customs, which were the only sure remedy he had still left; and this was attended with fatal consequences. The branches thus mortgaged became, and continue to this hour, fixed and hereditary; so that the merchant was oppressed, and the king received nothing. This expedient failing, a tax of three per cent. was imposed in the nature of ship-money, for the defence of the coasts and the commerce, which for some years was properly applied; but then made a part of the ordinary revenue, and went into the king's exchequer without account. This precedent made way for diverting other appropriated branches; as for instance, that for the repair of fortifications, the money being strictly levied, and the works suffered to decay, and tumble down; and that for the maintenance of the conquests in Africa, by which the garrisons mouldered away, and the places were lost. Upon the whole, in the space of eighteen years, the nation was visibly impoverished, and yet the government of Philip was incomparably better than that of his successors; so that his death was justly regretted, and the Portuguese were taught by experience to confess, that of bad masters he was the best [m]: a miserable consolation indeed!

His son Philip, the second of Portugal, and the third of Spain, sat twenty years upon the throne before he

[m] Grimston's Continuation, Le Clede.

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His son Philip's government serves only to heighten this spirit, and to impoverish the nation.

made a visit to Portugal, where the people, to convince him how soon a little sunshine might banish foul weather, put themselves to a most enormous expence to receive him; for which they gained little more than the compliment, that before his entry into Lisbon, he knew not how great a king he was [n]. He held an assembly of the states; in which his son was sworn successor. He having done all that he wanted for himself, acquired a false idea of the riches of the nation from an immoderate and foolish display of them during his short stay at Lisbon; and having shewn himself little, and done less, he returned into Spain; where he acted the part of a good king upon his death-bed, in deploring bitterly that he never thought of acting it before. The reigns of Philip III. and IV. were a series of worse measures, and worse fortune: all his dominions suffered greatly; Portugal most of all. The loss of Ormus in the East, of Brazil in the West Indies, together with the shipwreck of a fleet sent to escorte that from Goa, brought the nation incredibly low, and encouraged the conde duke to hope they might be entirely crushed. These are the heads only of the transactions for forty years: to enter in any degree into the particulars is, in other words, to point out the breaches made by the Spanish ministers on the conditions granted by king Philip; which, with respect to them, was the original contract, and unalterable constitution of Portugal while subject to the monarchs of Castile.

Fundamental articles of the convention made with the Portuguese broken.

It was the very basis and foundation of their privileges that the kingdom should remain separate and independent, and consequently that Lisbon should continue as much its capital as ever, the several supreme councils and courts residing there; so that the natives of this realm might not be obliged to travel in search of justice. So little, or at least so short a time was this condition observed, that neither promotion nor justice was to be obtained without journies, and Madrid was not more the capital of Castile than of Portugal. The general assembly of estates was to be held frequently, and they were held thrice in the space of threescore years, and of these twice within the first three. The king was to reside in this realm, as often and as long as possible; in compliance with which article, Philip I. was there but once, Philip II. but four months, and Philip III. was never there at all. The household establishment was suppressed through all their reigns. The viceroy was

[n] Faria y Sousa.

to

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to be a native of Portugal, or a prince or princeſs of the blood; yet when any of the royal family bore the title, the power was in reality in the hands of a Spaniard. Thus, when the princeſs of Mantua was vice-queen, the marquis de la Puebla was to aſſiſt in council, and in all diſpatches; and ſhe was to do nothing without his advice. The council of Portugal, which was to be compoſed entirely of natives, was filled with Caſtilians, as the garriſons alſo were, though the contrary had been promiſed. The preſidents of provinces, or corregidors, were to be natives; but by keeping thoſe offices in his own hands, the king eluded this article. No city, town, or diſtrict, were to be given but to Portugueſe; yet the duke of Lerma had Beja, Serpa, and other parts of the demeſnes of the crown, which were formerly appennages of the princes of the blood. None but natives were capable of offices of juſtice, in the revenue, in the fleet, or of any poſt civil or military; yet theſe were given promiſcuouſly to foreigners, or ſold to the higheſt bidder, not excepting the governments of caſtles, cities, and provinces. The natives were ſo far from having an equal chance in ſuch caſes, that no poſts in the preſidials were ever given to them, and ſcarce any in garriſons; and whenever it happened, in the caſe of a perſon of extraordinary merit, whoſe pretenſions could not be rejected, he was either removed, or not allowed to exerciſe his charge. The forms of proceeding, the juriſdiction, the miniſters, the ſecretaries, were all changed, in the council of Portugal, being reduced from five to three, then to two, and at laſt to a ſingle perſon [*].

Their commerce neglected, undermined, and oppreſſed by the Spaniſh miniſters.

In points regarding trade, equal alterations were made, of which the conſequences were ſtill worſe, more eſpecially to the people in general. The Portugueſe had been aſſured, that a fleet ſhould be kept off their coaſt, for the ſecurity of their commerce; and, when it was needful, that this ſhould be reinforced with Caſtilian ſhips: but inſtead of this, the fleet of Portugal was employed on all occaſions, ruined in the Spaniſh ſervice; and the Portugueſe admiral and general, in all expeditions where they acted together, were obliged to obey the Caſtilian. They had no fleet or gallies to cruiſe or to eſcorte veſſels, to ſecure the ports, or ſcour the coaſts: ſo that the ſea was full of pirates, the Moors made deſcents, navigation was unſafe, and commerce daily decaying. The number of India ſhips leſſened; and whereas twenty uſed to go, and ſcarce

[*] Le Clede Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal.

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one miscarried, the number was reduced to a few in a year, and these indifferently laden, and generally half of them lost or taken, in sight of port, by corsairs; so that above two hundred great galleons, besides other vessels, were lost while Portugal was dependent on Spain [p]. If a fine ship was built at Lisbon, it was immediately put into the Spanish fleet; so that people were discouraged from building. The arsenals of Portugal were emptied of their artillery and arms of all sorts: so that above two thousand pieces of brass, and an infinite quantity of iron cannon were carried away into Spain. In the grand place of Seville, there were nine hundred cannon to be seen at a time, marked with the arms of Portugal. The Portuguese were not admitted to the West Indian commerce, though they had been flattered with a promise of indulgence in that respect, whilst the Flemings were allowed to trade to the Portuguese plantations. How very little the court of Madrid had the trade of Portugal at heart appears from the truce concluded with Holland, which was limited so, that it should not extend to countries beyond the equinoctial [q], as if on purpose that the Portuguese settlements in Brazil, Ethiopia, and the East Indies, might have no benefit, and all their plantations in those parts be exposed to the attempts of the Hollanders. In consequence of which privilege, the Dutch were soon enabled to take Gale, Colombo, and drive them entirely out of the isle of Ceylon, and monopolize the cinnamon trade to themselves; and likewise out of Ternate, Tydore, and most of the Molucca islands, by which they likewise became masters of cloves, nutmegs, and in a great measure of pepper. These were not the only losses of the Portuguese. Ormus was wrested from them by the Persians. The ports of Mina and Arguin, in Guinea, with Fernambuco, and a great part of Brazil, were seized by the Dutch, who also took the important fortress of Malaccca, in the East Indies, after a siege of six months. These losses served for a pretext to raise money, in order to recover those places; but it was still diverted, and the Portuguese saw themselves in imminent danger of utter ruin, when all countries in Europe, that were before friends, were made their enemies, merely by this union with Castile [r]: circum-

[p] Gonsalez de Cespide, Le Clede. [q] Faria y Sousa, Le Clerc, Le Clede, Corps Universel Diplomatique. [r] Le Clede, Hist. Gen. d'Espagne, Le Clerc, Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi de la Compagni des Indes Orientales, Conquista de las Islas Malucas, por el licenciado Bartolome Leon de Argensola, Hist. de l'Isle de Ceylan, par J. Ribeyro.

stance,

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ſtance, which, in point of honour, the Spaniſh miniſters ought to have conſidered.

The revenue of the crown, which was by the conceſſions of king Philip to be ſpent in Portugal, yet was applied to the wants of Spain. Penſions were ſold to perſons there, and then appointed to be paid out of the revenue of Portugal, ſo that ſix millions of old revenue ſcarce brought eighty thouſand crowns into the king's exchequer. The tax of ſalt, firſt impoſed by king Sebaſtian, remitted by Henry, revived by Philip, and raiſed to more than the value of the commodity, with the annates from graces, bringing in four hundred thouſand crowns a year, and the profit of all confiſcations of merchandize, were appropriated to the ſervice of Caſtile. The money levied on the clergy of Portugal, and the tax on oil, were applied to the ſame purpoſe. The exciſe on fleſh and wine, to a fourth part of its value, was aſſigned to the building of the palaces of Buen Retiro and Galinero, near Madrid. A duty laid by the common council of the city of Liſbon, to build a conduit for the uſe of the inhabitants, was (after being ſome time managed by the city officers, and applied to that purpoſe) ſeized by Philip II. and afterwards by Philip III. this practice was extended to all the cities of the kingdom. Every pariſh was charged with furniſhing ball to the ſoldiers; and the Caſtilian projectors exerciſed their wits ſo well, in inventing new ſubſidies, that out of theſe alone, from A. D. 1626 to 1633, thirty-two millions three hundred and thirty thouſand crowns were brought into the king's coffers, and a much greater ſum afterwards, from that laſt year to 1640. Upon the whole, the Portugueſe writers compute, that from 1584 to 1626, the Spaniſh government coſt Portugal above one hundred millions of gold, without any advantage to the grandees or people; and what was drained from them afterwards was very little leſs than that ſum, which makes two hundred millions, and was more than ſufficient to exhauſt any country, and which really beggared Portugal.

The royal revenue diverted gradually, till Portugal becomes only a farm to Caſtile.

The clergy, excluſive of thoſe grievances which they ſhared in the common with the reſt of their countrymen, had ſome peculiar to themſelves. The firſt Philip had ſtipulated not to demand from the pope any bulls to enable him to tax benefices; the laſt Philip, however, impoſed and levied the old impoſitions, without breach of faith in his opinion, or rather in his miniſter's opinion, becauſe it was done without bull and without law. The prieſts reſented

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sented this invasion of their privileges, and complained of the pensions granted out of their livings, and the delays of filling sees and ecclesiastical dignities, that the king might have the profits of the vacancies. All ecclesiastical dignities, and all commanderies of orders, were restrained to natives; yet the Castilians enjoyed all the great, and none but the small were left to the Portuguese. This distinction affected not only the clergy, but the nobility and gentry, who were likewise uneasy to find they could get no military charges, but what were the leavings of the Castilians; so that none by distinguishing services could now hope for any recompence; and that emulation, which is the source of brave actions, being destroyed, Portugal, so famous in former days for prodigies of valour, lost at once all its reputation. Many of the best families were, for want of employments, reduced to poverty; whilst others, who were not yet sunk so low, had loans proposed to draw their wealth out of their hands, and were ill treated if they declined lending. No fiefs, jurisdictions, or escheats to the crown ought to have been bestowed on any except Portuguese; yet great numbers of families were banished purely to introduce Castilians, who had also titles granted them, and the richest heiresses of Portugal were given to poor gentlemen of Castile, that they might find those riches in other countries, which they wanted in their own [r].

All ranks and degrees of people conceive a desire of recovering their liberty, by shaking off the yoke.

The detestation of the Spanish government was become universal, from the comparison made by different ranks of people between their respective grievances; for common misery taught men of all degrees to mingle their complaints. The nobility and gentry were grieved to see their long services so ill repaid, while Germans, Italians, and Flemings, were courted, preferred, and honoured with the Golden Fleece, which never fell to the share of a Portuguese. They saw, with the utmost sorrow, the order of knighthood with them become contemptible; and even that of Christ, cherished and enriched by successive kings, now disgraced by those who wore it; and they bore with impatience the sending their children into Castile for education, where they were considered as hostages, rather than men of quality. The clergy felt very sensibly the

[r] Historia delle Rivolutioni del Regno di Portogallo par le quali la Corona e Stata trasferita dal Re di Castiglia al Duca di Braganza Giovanni IV. composta da Gio. Batt. Birago Avogadro, Le Clerc.

several

ſeveral methods that had been practiſed to fleece them; they were mortified at ſeeing the great benefices in the hands of the princes of the blood, who never judged it expedient to viſit Portugal: thus, for inſtance, the cardinal infant Don Ferdinand held at once the priory of Crato, worth twenty-five thouſand crowns, and the abbey of Alcobaza, in commendam, which was worth forty thouſand crowns a year more; and Leopold, the ſon of the archduke of Tyrol, was named biſhop of Viſeo, at three years old, notwithſtanding Don Alexander, brother of the duke of Bragança, was refuſed the archbiſhoprick of Evora, under pretence that he was not a doctor of divinity[s]; and what ſurpaſſed all other evils, they found no way to riſe in preferment ſo expeditious as that of granting penſions to courtiers. The officers and ſoldiers employed in the Eaſt Indies were very indifferently paid, compelled on all occaſions to act in ſubſerviency to the Caſtilian intereſt; and the common people, beſides being oppreſſed by taxes, were daily forced into the king's ſervice, and contrary to the moſt ſolemn engagements, ſent into the moſt diſtant parts of his catholic majeſty's dominions, with a very ſcanty ſubſiſtence, and no hopes of being ever preferred[t]. In this ſituation the ſigns of diſcontent were frequent and loud: an inſurrection had been raiſed in the kingdom of Algarve, which might have been attended with very untoward conſequences, if the vice-queen Mary had not vigorouſly interpoſed, and by her care and prudence quieted the minds of the people: notwithſtanding which the new tax of five per cent. upon lands and merchandize, was, in obedience to the orders of the court, impoſed[u].

The ſituation of Don Juan, duke of Braganza, and his family, at this juncture.

A nation, when once diſcontented, naturally ſeeks a chief; for an eſtabliſhed government quickly ſuppreſſes popular tumults when they are not conducted by ſome able head, and to ſome determined end. The Portugueſe no ſooner began to make this enquiry, than the duke of Bragança offered himſelf to their view, and to their mind. This prince was in the flower of his age, grandſon to John duke of Bragança, who had been competitor to Philip, and himſelf of the ſame name. His father, Don Theodoſius, had been a warm friend to his country, and

[s] Gonſalo de Ceſpedes y Meneſes Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal. [t] Hiſtoire de la Revolution de Portugal ou du Retabliſſement du Roi Jean IV. ſur le Trone en 1644, par Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Le Clede. [u] Gio Bat. Birago Avogadro, Luiz de Meneſes, Cajetano Paſſerello.

oppoſed

oppoſed the firſt inſults of the Caſtilians with great dignity and ſpirit, which conduct had endeared him exceedingly to the people. He had by his ducheſs, the daughter of the duke of Frias, this duke, his brother Don Duarte, and Don Alexander, deſigned for the church, who died a young man. As for Don Juan duke of Bragança, he had eſpouſed Donna Louiſa de Guzman, ſiſter of the duke of Medina Sidonia, and it is neceſſary to ſet his character in a true light. In the eye of human policy he ſeemed to be of all men living the moſt unfit for the great part he acted. He was of a gentle and quiet temper; rather indolent than active; loved hoſpitality and magnificence; delighted in country ſports, was the kindeſt huſband, the moſt affectionate father, the moſt generous maſter, the friendlieſt neighbour, and the moſt amiable and companionable man breathing. Providence intending him for the inſtrument by whom the oppreſſed Portugueſe were to be reſtored to their independency and freedom, gave theſe virtues a turn proper to produce conſequences which the moſt penetrating human policy would never have ſuſpected. His behaviour reconciled the nobility to his grandeur, as they never ſaw it exerted but in doing good: it defended him from the jealouſies and ſuſpicions of the Spaniards, who thought a man of his temper could never give them any trouble, unleſs he was forced to it; a conſideration which made them tender and indulgent in their proceedings. It attached to him all his vaſſals, who looked upon him as their common parent; gained the affections of the populace, wherever he came, and ſpread an univerſal deſire of being happy under the government of a prince of ſo much mildneſs and moderation. He knew his own rights, and he did not want ambition: he ſaw the miſery of his country, and he ſaw it with compaſſion: he comprehended perfectly the views of the Spaniſh miniſters, and he looked upon them with proper reſentment. But he could do all this without diſcompoſing his temper, without altering his conduct, and without diſcovering the leaſt deſire of being greater than he was. In the end, his patience, which ſome thought puſillanimity, appeared to be conſummate prudence; his indolence the moſt refined policy; and his backwardneſs in ſtirring, the only effectual method of procuring that unanimity in reſolution which ſo wonderfully and unexpectedly placed him on the throne. His ducheſs was of a different frame of mind: her temper was lively, vehement, and ſincere: her cou-

rage

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rage manly, and her fortitude heroic. She had the credit of exciting, or at leaſt of confirming her huſband in his final reſolution; but in reality the duke had taken it before he aſked her advice, and that calmneſs with which he proceeded, received an uſeful, as well as acceptable colouring from the vivacity of his conſort [w].

Spaniſh miniſters act as if determined to drive the nation to deſpair.

In ſome particular places extraordinary ſeverities had forced the people to explain themſelves, though to their own hurt. Thus at Evora there happened a great ſedition, in which the name of the duke of Bragança was mentioned, and a deputation ſent to acquaint him, that the lives and fortunes of the inhabitants of that city were at his devotion. The beſt part of the province of Alentejo was in motion upon this news; but the duke rejecting the propoſal, and ſtopping the inſurrection, availed himſelf of the credit which this behaviour gave him with the court of Madrid, to preſerve the citizens of Evora from deſtruction [x]. But now that rage, which had hitherto been confined, became general; the conduct and ſcheme of the Spaniards driving the whole nation from diſcontent into deſpair. A ſtrict ſurvey had been taken of the whole kingdom, as if they had meant to divide it; and from hence it appeared, that there were in Portugal about two hundred and ten thouſand fighting men. In conſequence of this numeration came orders for raiſing ſix thouſand foot, and a great corps of horſe, to march againſt the rebels in Catalonia; moſt of the eminent gentlemen in the ſeveral provinces were required to raiſe their vaſſals, and to march with them in perſon [y]. The beſt part of thoſe who complied were ſeized, with ſeveral of the principal nobility, as hoſtages, and ſome of them put to ranſom; proceedings which frighted thoſe who remained at home exceſſively and diſpoſed them to run all hazards, though threatened to be declared traitors and their eſtates confiſcated. The next good effect of this political ſurvey was the project of no fewer than twenty new taxes and impoſitions to be levied on a people cruſhed by thoſe under which they laboured already. Some letters of the ſecretary Vaſconcellos, whoſe character has been already given, let the Portugueſe into the depth of his and his maſter's deſigns, and took from them all poſſibility of hope, in caſe expe-

A.D. 1637.

[w] Gio Batt. Birago Avogadro, Luiz de Meneſes. [x] Le Clede, Rene d'Aubert de Vertot. [y] Gonſalo de Ceſpedes y Meneſes, Cajetano Paſſarello.

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rience had failed of doing it before. Under such circumstances as these a revolt was certainly to be feared, and, indeed, it was what the Spaniards expected: the conde duke had taken precautions for suppressing it, and had resolved to make it a pretence for depriving them of that shadow of independency which was still remaining [z].

By whom the scheme was set on foot for restoring the constitution in church and state.

The duke of Bragança had for the master of his household and director of his finances, one Juan Pinto Ribeiro, a doctor of the civil law; a man of a bold spirit, and extensive genius, who at once deserved and possessed his master's confidence. He was at Lisbon, and with very great address promoted and encouraged that spirit which he saw rising in all ranks and degrees of people. When in company with the nobility, he deplored the dejected and depressed state in which they were held by the Castilians. Amongst the priests he admired the learning and abilities conspicuous in men of their order; and testified his concern, that instead of recommending, this should hinder their preferment. With men in a mercantile way, the decay of trade was his constant topic: he pointed out the sources of it, and took care to insinuate that from the nature of them things must grow daily worse and worse. His discourses gained him credit with those who had the good of their country sincerely at heart; amongst whom the most considerable was Don Rodrigo de Cunha, archbishop of Lisbon; a man of great quality and abilities, who was particularly piqued at the Spaniards, and at the vice-queen for raising Don Sebastian de Mattos de Norogno to the primacy of Braga, and bestowing on him all their confidence. The archbishop of Lisbon communicated his thoughts to Don Michael de Almeida, a nobleman of Roman courage, who was so dissatisfied with the Spanish government that he never went to court, to Don Antonio de Almada, and his son Don Lewis, the grand huntsman Mello, and Don George his brother, Don Lewis da Cunha, the archbishop's nephew, Pedro de Mendoça, Don Rodrigo de Saa, great-chamberlain, and some other officers of the crown, who, though they retained their pompous titles, had not either appointments or perquisites [a].

The probabilities they had of succeeding.

In their first consultations it very naturally occurred, that the first step to be taken was to make choice of a pro-

[z] Vittorio Siri, Gonçalo de Cespides y Meneses, Le Clede.
[a] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot.

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per perſon on whoſe head they might place the crown. Some were for the duke of Bragança, others for the marquis de Villareal, and others for the duke of Aveyro, all princes of the ſame houſe. The archbiſhop heard all that could be ſaid, and then told them his own ſentiments clearly; which were, that in declaring againſt the Spaniſh government they could not either hope for juſtice or eſcape the guilt of rebellion, otherwiſe than by owning the duke of Bragança, who was the true heir of the crown; in which opinion they readily acquieſced. He then ſhewed that as this was no factious, they had reaſon to flatter themſelves it would prove no fruitleſs attempt; but being intended for their benefit, would be abetted by the whole nation: that the Spaniſh force in the kingdom was not great, and the ſtrength and credit of that crown no longer what it was: that the Dutch had long ago recovered their liberties; that the Catalans had lately followed their example; and that the Portugueſe might do the ſame with great eaſe, if either the love of liberty, or the ſenſe of injuries, could revive the ancient courage of their nation, and enable them to ſhake off that reproach thrown upon them by the infidels, that thoſe who ſtyled themſelves the conquerors of the Indies were nevertheleſs ſlaves at home [b]. They applauded this diſcourſe, and promiſed in their ſeveral ſtations to do all in their power, and to hazard all in their poſſeſſion for accompliſhing ſo glorious an enterprize, and for reſtoring that conſtitution, which, while they held it, they were a great people. The archbiſhop recommended to them ſteadineſs and ſecrecy; and at the ſame time deſired, that the obſtacles which it would be neceſſary for them to ſurmount, ſhould be ſeriouſly and circumſtantially conſidered.

Obſtacles that were to be overcome.

It was obſerved, that the Spaniards and thoſe of their party, were in full poſſeſſion of the government in all its branches; that the magiſtrates, judges, officers civil and military, and, in ſhort, all who had either power or influence, were on their ſide. To this objection it was anſwered, that in appearance it was ſo; but that very probably it might be otherwiſe in reality, and if not, the many were every where ſuperior to the few, and the few were no where formidable when they were men of bad characters, and univerſally deteſted, which was the caſe of every

[b] Gio Batt. Birago Avogradro, Luiz de Meneſes, Cajetano Paſſarello.

man

man devoted to the Spaniſh intereſt. It was remarked, that the Spaniards had garriſons in three places in the Algarve; that they had a citadel, and ſeveral forts in and about Liſbon; and that they had a body of troops in the Spaniſh Eſtramadura. It was ſaid in return to this obſervation, that if all thoſe forces had been together, or ſo diſpoſed that they might have been ſuddenly collected, they would have been much more formidable; that as they were now divided, they might be eaſily kept for ever ſeparate; that though a ſiege was not, yet a blockade was eaſily formed; and that if a garriſon could not eat they muſt ſurrender, though no artillery was brought againſt them; that of the troops in the field, a third part at leaſt was Portugueſe; and that it would be no difficult matter to aſſemble an army ſtrong enough to invite them to come over, and then the buſineſs would be done without fighting. It was objected, that after all, Portugal was naturally but a part of Spain, ſurrounded by it on three ſides, on all which it might be attacked, without any regular forces of its own, and without allies. It was replied to this remark, that the ſituation was the ſame in former times; that the Caſtilians had heretofore claimed Portugal, without being able to conquer it; that though the force of Portugal was diminiſhed, the ſtrength of Spain was likewiſe declined; that at all events, the Portugueſe were ſuperior to the Catalans, and might therefore venture to do what they had done. Laſtly, it was alleged, that the preſent ſeaſon was not to be loſt; that Portugal was deſtined to deſtruction by the Caſtilians, as appeared by the letters to Vaſconcellos from Madrid, and therefore they ran no greater riſk, for no greater evil could happen than deſtruction, which they might as well meet as expect; that their enemies were never ſo much embarraſſed as at this juncture; and that as Spain had rendered almoſt all Europe her enemies, Portugal upon her revolt would have almoſt all Europe either for open or ſecret friends. The reſult of all this deliberation was, that proceeding was leſs hazardous and more glorious than deſiſting; and that the recovery of their liberty would depend chiefly upon themſelves.

Dr. Pinto's prudence as to his maſter.

When doctor Pinto came to be conſulted, he embarked roundly, but diſclaimed all knowlege of his maſter's ſentiments. He was very clear as to his right to the crown, and he was no leſs clear as to his love for his country; but he obſerved that the duke was without ambition; and that he would

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would riſk nothing for the ſake of his title, being ſatiſfied with the great property he had, and with the opportunities it gave him of doing good; but he added, that if the welfare and intereſt of the nation demanded his ſervice, he was confident there was not a peaſant in Portugal would riſk his cottage ſooner than his maſter would his eſtates. In fine, that he would do nothing to make himſelf a king, but would expoſe himſelf to any thing for the welfare of the kingdom; and that from what he had ſaid they might account for his paſt conduct, and to take their meaſures in the moſt effectual manner to induce him to alter it. His notions were well received, and it was unanimouſly determined, when once their affairs were ripe, to force the crown upon the duke of Bragança [c].

His own wiſe conduct throughout.

We have, in the hiſtory of Caſtile, ſhewn on what maxims the conde duke de Olivarez acted, and what various methods he practiſed, that he might amuſe the duke of Bragança, and engage him to come to court, which if he had done, we have that miniſter's own authority in his apology to prove, he never would have ſet foot more in Portugal, ſo that his ſuſpicions in this reſpect were not in the leaſt unjuſt. But as great a politician as Olivarez was, his artifices not only proved ineffectual, but were really ſerviceable to the duke. Thus when he was declared general of the forces, directed to viſit the fortreſſes, it gave him an opportunity he could not otherwiſe have had, of making a progreſs through the kingdom, obliged even his rivals and enemies to pay him great reſpect, and gave even the Hiſpaniolized Portugueſe an habit of obeying him. It is true, that ſuch of the Spaniſh governors as could be truſted had orders to ſeize him; but the duke came ſo well accompanied that it would have been much eaſier for him to ſurpriſe any of their places with thoſe he had about him, than for them to arreſt him. Where human prudence might have failed, Providence viſibly interpoſed for his preſervation; the Spaniſh fleet under admiral Oſorio was ordered upon the coaſt, in hopes he would have dined on board it, upon an invitation; but a ſtorm diſperſed and ſhattered that fleet, which might otherwiſe have given him a great deal of trouble. When he came to Almada, over-againſt Liſbon, Pinto procured an audience for Antonio Almada, Michael Almeida, and Pedro Mendoça; he

[c] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Cajetano Paſſarello, Le Clede Hiſtoire Generale de Portugal.

heard

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heard their propoſitions with a pleaſant countenance; and though he did not abſolutely engage himſelf, yet his expreſſions of gratitude were ſo ſtrong, and his teſtimonies of kindneſs ſo warm, and ſo obliging, that they returned well ſatisfied, and charmed with the thoughts of having ſo good a prince. He had received inſtructions from court to wait upon the vice-queen at Liſbon, and to treat her with the moſt profound reſpect; the deſign of which was to ſhew him to the people in the light of a ſubject, and thereby to weaken thoſe impreſſions they might otherwiſe have received. The duke went accordingly; but attended with ſuch a concourſe of nobility, and was complimented by ſuch multitudes on his arrival, that the marquis de Peubla, who in reality was governor to the vice-queen, could not help ſaying, "This viſit does not proceed from reſpect to you; but is intended to ſhew you what reſpect is due to him:" and indeed it left him and his friends no great reaſon to ſuſpect that the declaration he intended to make would meet with much oppoſition there. For the expence of this general viſit, and for the neceſſary fortifications, he had forty thouſand crowns paid him out of the treaſury, and ſoon after twenty thouſand more to facilitate his journey to Madrid; which were very convenient ſupplies at that juncture, and prevented his taking ſuch meaſures to raiſe money as might have afforded ſuſpicions [d].

He reſolves to accept the crown.

When the plan of the aſſociated lords was ſo far advanced that little more remained than to fix the time and manner of its execution, they diſpatched Mendoça to the duke, to obtain his definitive reſolution. He heſitated a little, and deſired ſome time to conſider. Mendoça requeſted that he would not protract time, and that he would forbear aſking the advice of his ſecretary Antonio Paez Viegas, a perſon of great ſagacity, but remarkably cautious. The duke readily promiſed the former; but not the latter. After mature reflection, he thought it expedient to ſend for Viegas, and to lay before him the whole ſtate of the matter. Inſtead of giving his opinion, the ſecretary aſked him, whether if the lords, in imitation of the ſtates of the United Provinces, had reſolved to ſet up a republic, he would not have ſacrificed his own rights to the welfare of his country? "Yes," replied the duke, "and my fortunes, and my life, if neceſſary to her ſafe-

[d] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Luiz de Meneſes.

ty."

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ty." "Why then," said the secretary, "should you hesitate at receiving a crown which it is her interest to offer, and to which you have a just title?" Having said this, he knelt and kissed his hand. The duke then communicated the secret to the duchess, who, after a little reflection, said, "My lord, a violent death certainly waits you at Madrid, and it may be at Lisbon; but you will die there a miserable prisoner, and here covered with glory and a king. This is the worst that can happen: we ought rather to confide in the love of the people, your just claim, and the divine protection." The secretary, without speaking, knelt and kissed her hand likewise. The duke sent for Mendoça, introduced him to the duchess, and then told him he might assure those who sent him, that they might dispose of him as they thought fit; and that upon the day fixed, he would cause himself to be proclaimed throughout all his own estates, and wherever he had any influence *.

Measures taken to surprise Lisbon.

All these transactions were in the last five months of the year, and the first time mentioned for taking up arms was the month of March ensuing; but when they came to examine things more strictly, they found it impossible to put off the attempt so long. Mendoça made another turn to consult the duke, who afterwards sent for Pinto from Lisbon, whom he enjoined to acquaint the lords, to keep punctual to Saturday the 1st of December, which was the day they last appointed, and to bend all their endeavours to the seizing of Lisbon; for they had some thoughts of attacking Evora, which he disapproved. As the time drew nearer they were obliged to take some considerable citizens into their party, and a monk, one father Nicholas de Maja, who brought the magistrates to concur with them; so that by this time the design was in the hands of at least five hundred persons of all ranks, sexes, and ages, a circumstance which made the deferring it more dangerous than the execution. Yet even after this there fell out accidents that were very near compelling them to defer it, and it certainly would have been deferred, if the duke of Bragança had not constantly insisted that his excuses were all exhausted; and that, if he did not set out for Madrid, he had nothing to hope if he remained still a subject in Portugal. Doctor Pinto held all the associates closely united, and with the utmost hazard, and most indefati-

* Gio Batt. Birago Avogadro.

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gable industry, laboured to adjust every thing so as to have it ready by the time, and in particular engaged the traders, who were embarked, to dismiss numbers of their journeymen and servants, under pretence they could no longer pay or employ them, that discontented, and out of bread, they might be the readier to take arms. Father Nicholas also was very useful in promoting, though cautiously, and in very ambiguous terms, that spirit it was so necessary to raise [f].

Is carried with great spirit into execution

A.D. 1640.

At length Saturday the first of December came, when the conferates met early at the houses of Almeida, and the other great men, where they were to arm themselves. In all their countenances appeared such confidence as gave hope of victory: all being armed, they repaired to the palace by several ways, and most of them in litters, the better to conceal their number and arms. They were divided into four bodies, and expected the hour of eight, which was the time appointed. As soon as the clock struck eight, Pinto gave the signal by firing a pistol, and then all parties fell to their respective tasks. Don Michael de Almeida fell upon the German guard, who being surprized, for the most part unarmed, were soon subdued. The grand huntsman, his brother, and Don Stephen da Cunha, charged the Spanish company before the palace at the place called The Fort. Most of the townsmen who knew of the design were in this action, and boldly fell in sword in hand upon the court guard. None amongst them signalized himself more than a priest, who carrying a crucifix in one hand, and a sword in the other, amidst his loud exhortations ceased not to act beyond the most alert. None could stand before him; so that after some small resistance, the Spanish officer and his soldiers were forced to surrender, and in order to procure quarter, to cry out, "God save the duke of Bragança!" Pinto, having made his way into the palace, headed those that were to attack Vasconcellos in his apartment. At the foot of the stairs they met Francis Soarez de Albergaria, judge of the civil causes, who seeing this tumult, would have interposed his authority to appease them; but hearing all cry, "God save the duke of Bragança!" he thinking it the duty of his office, cried "God save the king of Spain and Portugal!"

[f] Histoire de la Revolution de Portugal, par Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Cajetano Paffarello, Luiz de Meneses, le Clede Hist. generale de Portugal.

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This exclamation cost him his life; for one of the gentlemen in arms shot him, to prevent two cries. Antonio Correa, first clerk to the secretary, running out upon the noise, was stabbed by Don Antonio de Meneses; yet he turned up his eyes full of revenge, and said, "What! dare you strike me?" All the answer Meneses returned, was was to stab him till he fell: yet he survived all these wounds, to die some time after by the hand of the hangman. Being quit of this obstacle, the confederates pressed forward towards the secretary's chamber. James Garcia Paleta, a captain of foot, was then with him, who seeing so many armed men, and supposing they sought the life of Vasconcellos, though he owed no obligation to that minister, yet out of mere generosity endeavoured to keep the door with his sword, till the secretary could make his escape; but being wounded in his right arm, and overpowered by the multitude, he leaped out at a window, and had the good fortune to escape. They immediately broke into the chamber, and not finding the secretary, though they searched all corners, they threatened an old woman with present death, if she did not discover him; and she, to save her life, pointed to the place where he was, being a close cupboard taken out of the thickness of the wall, where they found him covered with papers. Fear prevented his uttering one word, and Don Roderic de Saa gave him the first wound with a pistol; after which several of the confederates having struck him, the cast the body out at the window, crying, "The tyrant is dead: let liberty live, and Don John of Portugal[g]!".

The vice queen seized, and the Spanish government entirely dissolved.

The multitude, who had flocked to the palace, uttered loud shouts of joy at seeing the body cast down. Pinto losing no time, hasted to join those who were to seize the vice-queen, and found they were already successful. Those who were to enter that princess's apartment being come to the door, and the enraged multitude crying out, they would set fire to it if not opened, the vice-queen, with her ladies, and the archbishop of Braga, appeared in her chamber, believing her presence would appease the nobility, and oblige the commons to retire. At their entrance, advancing some steps towards the confederates, "I confess, gentlemen, said she, that the secretary has justly incurred the hatred of the people, and your indignation by

[g] Glo Batt Birago Avogadro, Rene d'Aubert de Vertot. Histoire generale de Portugal.

his auſterity, and inſolent manner of proceeding. His death is a ſufficient revenge. I believe that what has hitherto paſſed may be attributed to the hatred conceived againſt the ſecretary; but if you proceed in this manner you cannot avoid being reputed rebels, and you will deprive me of the means of excuſing you to the king." Don Antonio de Meneſes anſwered, that ſo many perſons of worth were not met to puniſh a wretch who ought to have died by the hands of the hangman: that they came to do right to the duke of Bragança, to whom the crown appertained. She would have replied; but Almeida fearing his companions might cool, ſaid, Portugal had no king but the duke of Bragança; and then all cried out, "God ſave Don John king of Portugal[h]!" The vice-queen ſeeing them paſt reclaiming, thought to find more reſpect in the city; but as ſhe offered to go down Don Carlos de Noronha civilly intreated her to retire to her chamber, and not to expoſe herſelf to the fury of the incenſed people. She, in a rage, finding herſelf detained, cried out, "Why, what can the people do to me?" Noronha anſwered, "Nothing, madam, but throw your highneſs out at the window." The archbiſhop of Braga, inflamed at this expreſſion, ſnatched a ſword from a ſoldier, and offered to run at Noronha; but Don Michael de Almeida laid hold of him, and told him the danger of provoking thoſe who, but for him, had decreed his death. This declaration made him curb his paſſion, in hopes of a more favourable opportunity of revenging himſelf. The reſt of the confederates ſeized all the Spaniards that were in the palace or city. The marquis de la Puebla, ſteward to the vice-queen, Don Diego Cardenas, major-general, Don Hernando de Caſtro, intendant of the marine, the marquis de Bainetto, an Italian, maſter of the horſe to the vice-queen, and ſeveral ſea-officers, were on this occaſion made priſoners. No man ſtirred to defend them, and they were in no condition to do it, being moſt of them taken in their beds. All danger being removed, Antonio de Saldanha led the people to the courts of judicature, where he made an harangue to them upon the preſent happineſs of Portugal, in being delivered from tyranny, and the crown reſtored to their natural prince. His diſcourſe was received

[h] Luiz de Meneſes Diſcurſo gratulatorio ſobre o Dia da felice Reſtituicao & acclamacao de Rey de Portugal D. Joam IV. por Fr. Franc. Brandao, Monge de Alcobaça.

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with general applauſe, and all proceedings for the future were ordered to run in the name of Don John king of Portugal[1]. Thus the foreign government was completely diſſipated, and their natural prince reſtored.

A new form ſettled, with the archbiſhop of Liſbon at the head of it, till the king's arrival.

In the mean while Don Gaſton Coutinho releaſed out of priſon all who had been committed through the ſeverity of the Spaniſh miniſters; and they who were thus delivered formed themſelves into a body no leſs formidable than that of the firſt confederates. Amidſt this general joy Pinto and other principal men were not, however, free from care. The Spaniards were ſtill poſſeſſed of the citadel, and whilſt it held out, the king of Spain had always an entrance at his command: they conceiving therefore they had done nothing unleſs they were maſters of that place, went to the vice-queen, demanding of her an order for the governor to deliver it up. She rejected this demand with ſcorn; but Almada ſwearing deſperately if ſhe perſiſted, he would inſtantly murder all the Spaniards that were taken, for fear of ſacrificing ſo many perſons of quality ſhe ſigned the order, believing the governor knew his duty too well to obey a command he could not but be convinced was extorted from her. It fell out quite otherwiſe than ſhe expected; for the Spaniſh governor, Don Lewis del Campo, a man of no reſolution, ſeeing all in arms before the citadel, vowing they would put the garriſon to the ſword unleſs they ſurrendered. was glad to depart with ſo good a pretence as the vice-queen's order to hide his cowardice. The citadel being ſurrendered, and the confederates now ſecure on all ſides, they diſpatched Mendoça and the great huntſman to carry the happy news to the duke of Bragança, and aſſure him there wanted nothing to complete the people's felicity but the preſence of their king, yet this was not equally deſired by all: the nobility looked upon his exaltation with an envious eye; the gentry, who had no hand in this affair, ſtood doubtful, as if they knew not whether he would juſtify thoſe proceedings. The creatures of Spain were in conſternation, and only took care to ſave themſelves. The duke's friends, knowing his intention without diſcloſing it, proſecuted their buſineſs: they met at the palace to ſettle affairs, and unanimouſly choſe the archbiſhop of Liſbon preſident of the council, and lieutenant of the kingdom. He refuſed this office at firſt, believing there was more need of a general than a perſon of his character; but ſoon complied,

[1] Gio Batt. Birago Avogadro.

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upon condition the archbiſhop of Braga ſhould be joined in commiſſion with him. This ſubtle prelate's deſign was to make the other as guilty in reſpect to the Spaniards as himſelf if he accepted; or if he refuſed, to render him as odious to the new king as he was to the people. The primate of Braga perceived the ſnare; but, being wholly devoted to the Spaniards, poſitively refuſed to have any ſhare in the government. Thus the whole power fell into the hands of the archbiſhop of Liſbon, Don Michael de Almeida, Pedro de Mendoça, and Don Antonio de Almada, who were appointed his counſellors [k] (B).

The

[k] Le Clede Hiſtoire generale de Portugal, Luiz de Meneces.

(B) This change of government was ſo ſudden, and thoſe who conducted it ſhewed ſo much prudence as well as ſpirit, that in the afternoon of the Saturday on which it happened, the ſhops were opened, and every thing quiet. This had different effects upon different minds; for when they came that night to ſing the Te Deum, the chapter of Liſbon could not be prevailed upon to aſſiſt at it, ſuppoſing it impoſſible that a revolution could be produced with ſo little buſtle; and the archbiſhop of Liſbon ſaw, with regret, that this coolneſs of their's was like to operate upon others. He ordered, therefore, Te Deum to be performed the next day with greater ſolemnity, which was Sunday, aſſembled as many of the nobility as he could at his own palace, and made uſe of his authority to compel the chapter to be preſent; upon which they made no difficulty at all, ſuppoſing that this mandate of his would juſtify them in caſe of any new change (3). After Te Deum was ſung, this prelate went in proceſſion, with a crucifix carried before him, through the ſtreets; and when he came to the houſe where St. Anthony of Padua was born, he made a ſtand before a crucifix placed in a nich there, and kneeling on a low bulk againſt the ſide of the houſe, began a loud prayer, that if what they did was pleaſing to God, the image would afford them ſome token of conſent. Upon this, certain perſons placed there before, cried out, that the image gave a ſign: and others, poſted in the rear for the like purpoſe, roared out "a miracle! a miracle!" At the cloſe of the proceſſion, the archbiſhop ſhewed that the right arm of his own crucifix was detached from the croſs, and was extended in a menacing poſture. Whether this happened through art or

(3) O Doutor Joao' Baptiſta Birago Hiſtoria della den Unione del Regno di Portogallo della Corona di Caſtiglia.

accident

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The preſident diſpatched expreſſes the ſame evening to all the provinces to excite the people to give thanks to heaven *Don John IV. makes his entry.*

accident is uncertain; but however it happened, it brought out all Liſbon. Such as had ſtill expectations from the Spaniards, ſuch as were afraid of riſking their perſons and eſtates, and even ſuch as were indolently neutral, came abroad upon this occaſion, and relieved thoſe who were already hoarſe with the cry of "Long live John the Fourth, the father and deliverer of his country (4)." The very archbiſhop of Braga was forced to join in this cry; and a variety of paſſions blended their effects into the appearance of that univerſal loyalty with which ſuch ſignal and ſtupendous changes are commonly attended. All that part of the city which lies upon the Tagus was covered with people, who ſtood there in expectation of ſeeing their new king; and the archbiſhop of Liſbon ſent expreſſes to haſten him, that his ſubjects might not be diſappointed. They met him half-way to Liſbon, in a hunting equipage, attended by a few of his friends, and hawking careleſly, as if a crown was the leaſt in his thoughts. As ſoon as he knew the ſtate of things, he puſhed directly on to Liſbon, paſſed the river Tayo, though nine miles broad, in what we ſtile a pair of oars, landed, and almoſt without notice, made his way to the theatre that was prepared for his reception (5). There, ſhewing himſelf to the archbiſhop and other great officers of the crown, the people were raviſhed with amazement; and, to keep up their ſpirits, the interpretation of certain old prophecies were ſpread abroad, and thoſe, for the authenticity of which the Spaniards themſelves had vouched, were now turned againſt them; ſo that the people looked upon king John as a monarch ſent them by heaven (6). If therefore the Spaniards, who ſaw the rejoicing of this night, really meant what he ſaid, when he declared that John was truly a fortunate prince, to acquire a kingdom by a bonfire, and that his maſter was very unlucky to be driven out of ſo many fine provinces by an illumination (7), he was not much wiſer than the Indian who thought he had defined the mechaniſm of a clock, by ſaying, there were twelve figures between two circles, and a hand paſſing from one to the other pointed out the hour, which is the truth indeed, but very far from being the whole truth; for, as we have abundantly ſhewn, this enterprize ran great hazards, and was not accompliſhed without many difficulties. On the firſt reading this hiſtory it may excite ſtrange

(4) M. Fremont d'Ablancourt Portugal reſtaurado. (5) Vertot. (6) Dr. Colebatch's Memoirs, O Doutor Joao' Baptiſta Birago Portugal reſtaurado. (7) Vertot.

heaven for the recovery of their liberty; and commanding all magiſtrates to cauſe the duke to be proclaimed king, and to ſecure the Spaniards. He in the next place acquainted the vice-queen, that ſhe muſt withdraw, to make room for the king and his family, and cauſed an apartment to be furniſhed for her in the ancient royal palace of Xabregas, which is in the ſuburbs. The vice-queen left the palace with a countenance full of indignation, and without ſpeaking a ſingle word. Only a few of her own ſervants and the archbiſhop of Braga, with the hazard of his life, attended her. The duke of Bragança was all this time in ſuſpenſe, not knowing how affairs ſucceeded at Liſbon, till Mello and Mendoça arrived at Villaviciosa. By the joy of their countenances, and their caſting themſelves at his feet, he underſtood before they ſpoke, he was king of Portugal. He conducted them to the ducheſs to relate what had happened, and they gave her the title of majeſty[l]. The ſame day Don John was proclaimed king in all the towns that depended on him. The new king ſet forward for Liſbon with the very ſame equipage he provided to go to the court of Spain; he was attended by the marquis de Ferreira, his kinſman, the count de Vimioſo, and many other perſons of quality. The queen was left at Villaviciosa to confirm that province in its obedience by her preſence. All the roads, through which he paſſed were thronged with people, who ran to ſee him, pouring bleſſings on him, and curſes on the Spaniards. All the nobility, officers of the crown, and principal magiſtrates, went out to receive him at a great diſtance from Liſbon, where he made his entry amidſt the joyful acclamations of the multitude on the 6th of December[m].

[l] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot. [m] Luiz de Meneſes, Gio Batt. Birago Avogadro, Franc. Brandao, Le Clede, Nani.

potions, but none will ſtir without reading it again, and whoever does that will not ſtir at all.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

The Reigns of John IV. and his son Alonso VI.

THE new king perceiving with what alacrity his title was received, and how general a satisfaction the people expressed on the throwing off the Castilian yoke, and resuming their ancient constitution, resolved without farther delay to proceed to his coronation, and then to call an assembly of the states; the only acts that were requisite to authenticate his authority. The ceremony of the coronation was performed on the 15th of December, with all possible magnificence. The duke of Aveiro, the marquis of Villareal, the duke de Caminha, his son the count de Monsanto, and all the nobility of the kingdom, assisted at the ceremony. The archbishop of Lisbon, at the head of his clergy, and attended by several other bishops, received the king at the gate of the cathedral, and there all the three estates took the oath of fidelity[a]. A few days after the queen came to Lisbon, having been received at a distance by the whole court, and the king himself, who upon other occasions, as well as this, testified in the most public manner how much he esteemed the great talents, and how sensible he was of the many services rendered him by his consort. The assembly of the states met on the 28th of January, recognized the king's title, and acknowledged his son Don Theodosius in quality of prince of Portugal. On the other hand, the king acquainted them, that for his civil list he would content himself with his patrimonial estate, and apply the public revenue for the public service. He at the same time consented that all the new taxes and impositions laid upon the people by the Spaniards should be extinguished; so that the nation was visibly greater gainers by this revolution than the king, who obtained nothing but his right, while they were freed from the ordinary expences of government, as well as the extraordinary levies to satisfy the avarice of the Castilians. We need not wonder therefore that most of the fortresses on the coast of Africa, the Azores Islands, the settlements in Brasil, and

Coronation of John IV. and assembly of the states, in which the revenue was settled.

A. D. 1640.

[a] Restauracao de Portugal prodigiosa, por Don Gregorio de Almeida, Le Clede Histoire generale de Portugal, Luiz de Meneses. Batt. Birago Avogadro, Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Franc. Brandao, Historia della Republica Veneta di Batt. Nani,

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in the East Indies, acknowledged this monarch as soon as they had notice of the revolution, or that all the powers in Europe, who were not immediately under the influence of the house of Austria, readily owned him, and received his ambassadors [b].

Conspiracy against him by the archbishop of Braga, the inquisitor general, and the Jews.

As the situation of his own affairs hindered the king of Spain from attacking Portugal immediately with any considerable force, he had recourse to soft measures, and wrote a very pathetic letter to the new king; but without effect [b]. This was followed by some military incursions, by which the Portuguese suffered little, or obtained a reasonable satisfaction for their losses in the same way. But in Portugal itself there wanted not those, who, disdaining public happiness, incompatible with their private interest, sought to subvert the new establishment before it was well fixed, and plotted against a monarch to whose title they had so lately sworn, to whose conduct they had nothing to object, and to whose councils they were daily admitted. The original author, and principal conductor of this plot was the archbishop of Braga, who owed his preferment indeed to the Spaniards, and had a great interest with the vice-queen; but had been often insulted by Vasconcellos, and might easily have been well with the present government. This man, laying all things together, perceived that how acceptable soever the king might be to the nation, he was envied by the princes of his own blood; and that many of the nobility, conscious that their estates were purloined from the crown, were secretly disaffected. He began therefore with the marquis of Villareal, the king's near relation, and one to whom he paid the highest respect: he promised him the vice-royalty of Portugal, and therefore allured him and his son the duke of Caminha, to take part in the scheme; his own nephew, the count de Armamar, blindly followed his will; Don Augustine Manuel, a person of a very noble family, and great parts, embarked from ambitious motives; the grand inquisitor out of real attachment to the court of Spain, and about a hundred other persons of rank, some out of ambition, and others from particular pique; the Jews also, or new Christians, upon the promise of toleration, came in, as did some likewise who were actually in the king's service. The design was well laid, and all its branches properly directed. The Jews were to fire the city of Lisbon in several places; the conspirators within the palace were to admit their asso-

[b] Le Clede. Gregori de Almeida. [c] Histoire generale d'Espagne.

ciates

ciates from without, who were to diſpatch the king, and to ſecure the reſt of the royal family, while the archbiſhop of Braga, and the grand inquiſitor, preceded by their croſſes, and followed by their clergy and dependants, were to paſſade the ſtreets, and endeavour to keep the people quiet, till the houſes were burnt, and the Spaniſh forces at their gates, ready to chaſtiſe them for their late defection, and to put another for ever out of their power [d].

Different accounts of the manner in which this dangerous conſpiracy was detected.

Authors differ extremely in their accounts of the manner in which this project was diſcovered: ſome ſay, that a Portugueſe ſpy fell accidentally into company on the frontiers with one of his own trade employed by the primate, whom he ſtabbed, and then taking from him his letters, brought them to Liſbon, in conſequence of which the whole came out. The ſecond account, which is more generally received, gives the diſcovery to the marquis of Ayamonte, who commanded on the Spaniſh frontiers, who was related to the queen of Portugal, and who was embarked in an intrigue with the duke of Medina Sidonia, to make him king of Andaluſia. This marquis receiving letters by the canal of one Baeça, a rich merchant, ſecretly a Jew, but whoſe packets came now under the ſeal of the inquiſition, with inſtructions to forward them to Olivarez: he ſuſpecting their contents, broke them open, and finding in them the whole plan of the conſpiracy, ſent them to king John. The third, and the moſt probable is, that the archbiſhop of Braga underſtanding that the count of Vimioſo, who was a prince of the blood, had been removed from his command on the frontiers, tampered with him, and having received ſome encouragement, communicated to him the whole deſign, with which he acquainted the king. But in whatever manner the diſcovery was made it was conducted with great addreſs; for the king took no notice of any thing till the very day preceding the night in which it was to have been executed. This was the 9th of Auguſt, when the troops in the adjacent villages, under colour of a review, entered Liſbon by break of day. The king delivered billets, ſealed up, in the morning to many perſons in whom he could confide, with inſtructions to open them at noon, and then to execute their contents with the utmoſt punctuality. At that very inſtant the marquis de Villareal, and the archbiſhop of Braga, being ſummoned to council, were arreſted in the king's anti-chamber; the duke de Caminha was ſeized in the great ſquare, and in the ſpace

[d] Luiz de Meneſes, Le Clede.

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of an hour forty-seven of the principal conspirators were apprehended in virtue of the king's billets; and at the time the business was divulged to the people, all against whom the court intended to proceed were in actual custody [e]. By these precautions the public security was thoroughly provided for, and also proper evidence furnished to satisfy public inquiry.

Manner of their punishment; providential supply of the king's treasury, and foreign alliances.

The king summoned a council to consider what should be done with those who were embarked in this treason. He was himself inclined to mercy, more especially as Don Lewis de Meneses, marquis of Villareal, was so nearly allied to him; and this, notwithstanding the ingratitude of the action, was heightened by his being first privy-counsellor appointed by the king after his accession. But the council were clearly and unanimously of another mind; in consequence of which the conspirators were remitted to the ordinary courts of justice. The king did not think fit to disclose the evidence that was in his own possession; and therefore Baeça being put to the rack, confessed the whole. The marquis of Villareal and his son, the archbishop of Braga and the inquisitor, confessed without being exposed to the torture. The two former, together with the count de Armamar, and Augustine Manuel, were beheaded on the 29th of August. Pedro Baeça, the secretary of the archbishop of Braga, and four others, were hanged. The archbishop himself, and the inquisitor, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment; in which the former died, but the latter after some time was set at liberty. All their estates were confiscated, and furnished a very large and seasonable fund for the war. The archbishop of Lisbon, who thought nothing ought to be denied him, interposed in favour of one of his friends. and asked the queen in pretty strong terms for his life. "I cannot grant your lordship that favour, answered her majesty; but I will grant you a much greater, I will forget you ever desired it [f]." When these executions were over, the king declared the rest of the prisoners innocent, and caused them to be discharged; so that he had nothing to fear from their despair. It was not in this instance only, but in many others, that Providence visibly favoured this wonderful revolution. A ship from the East Indies, with effects to the value of near half a million on board, knowing nothing of what had happened, came into the port of Lisbon, and was seized: the like

[e] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Batt. Birago Avogadro. [f] Le Clede, Gregorio de Almeida.

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happened to ten more in the iſland of Azores; ſo that what the Spaniards chiefly relied on, the diſtreſs of the new government for want of a ſettled revenue, was prevented by theſe almoſt miraculous ſupplies [g]. On the other hand, the crown of France concluded a treaty with Portugal, and ſent them ſuccours [h]. The ſtates-general of the United Provinces entered into a negotiation, which ended in a truce for ten years. The northern powers alſo gave them all the aſſiſtance they could deſire; and though the biſhop of Lamego, who was ſent ambaſſador to Rome, was unfortunately betrayed into the hands of the Spaniards, who were inclined to have treated him with the utmoſt ſeverity, yet the inclination that Olivarez had to deliver his couſin the marquis de Puebla, induced him to conſent to an exchange. He proceeded in his journey; and though it be true, that for fear of the Spaniards the pope would not ſuffer him to enter Rome in the day, yet he allowed his being introduced by night in the French ambaſſador's coach; and though he would not own his public character, yet he cauſed the ſame reſpect to be paid to him as if it had been owned. Don John acted a very different part with regard to the vice-queen, who was alſo a princeſs of the blood in Spain; for after ſhe had remained ten months a priſoner, he ſet her at liberty without exchange or ranſom; a meaſure which had indeed a very good effect, though it did not happen immediately, ſince, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, this princeſs had no inconſiderable ſhare in bringing about the fall of the king's implacable enemy, the conde duke de Olivarez.

A ſingular inſtance of royal goodneſs, and return of popular gratitude.

The affairs of the kingdom making it requiſite, he called an aſſembly of the ſtates, in which he demanded a ſupply, not for the maintenance of his court, but for the ſupport of the war, which raged more or leſs in all parts of his dominions. The ſtates voted him two millions, and left it to him to raiſe the money in what manner he pleaſed, ſending him blanks which he might fill up with ſuch rates for raiſing that ſum as he judged moſt expedient. It was a confidence never placed in any king of Portugal before, and it appeared to be very well placed now; for the king thanked them for their votes, returned them their blanks, adding, that it was for the Spaniards to impoſe and levy taxes; that for his part he would leave all to the good-will

[g] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Gregorio de Almeida, Batt. Birago Avogadro, Le Clede, Luiz de Meneſes. [h] Corps Univerſel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. vi. p. 214.

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of his subjects; in consequence of which moderation, he raised four millions instead of two[i]. The conde de Castelmelhor, who was in America, and in the Spanish service when the revolution happened, and very ill used, endeavoured at his return to seize the best part of the fleet in the port of Carthagena, in which design he would have certainly succeeded, if he had not been betrayed by a Portuguese, whom he had trusted in the highest degree. He was condemned to death: but appealing to the court of Madrid, gained time. The king Don John sent a couple of emissaries to Carthagena, so well furnished with money, and a vessel to hover on the coast, that, with the assistance of a captain of a Dutch frigate, after making his escape out of the citadel, he got safe into Portugal, where the king covered not only him, but all who had any hand in his deliverance, with such favours, as did not a little contribute to his service; and some years after made him governor of Brazil.

A.D. 1642.

Conde duke de Olivarez procures the ruin of secretary Lucena by forgery.

The war continued all this time with an expence rather of treasure than of blood, the affairs of Spain[k] being in great perplexity; and much time, and the bringing over of foreign officers, being requisite to render the Portuguese troops fit for action, in the way of regular service; and till this could be done the king very wisely declined expeditions of great consequence. In the mean time a very unlucky affair happened at home. The archbishop of Lisbon, during his short administration, had promoted Francisco Lucena, who had been clerk to Vasconcellos, to the post of secretary of state, in which he was continued by the king. He was indisputably a man of great abilities; but he was old and peevish, and had a severity in his temper which raised him a great many enemies, whom he treated with a contempt that sharpened their resentment, and induced them to publish many stories to his prejudice. When the revolt of Portugal happened he had a son at Madrid, and had intrusted him with some blank papers, to which he had only signed his name, leaving to him to fill them up with letters of recommendation as he should see occasion. Upon advice of the resolution, Olivarez caused the son to be arrested, and his papers to be examined, to see if he had been acquainted with the conspiracy. Nothing of that kind was discovered, only these

[i] Le Clede Histoire generale de Portugal, Gregorio de Almeida, Luiz de Meneses. [k] Historia delle Guerre di Portogallo succeduta per l'Occasione della Separazione di quel Regno dalla Corona Cattolica descritta da Aless. Brandano.

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blank papers were found. Olivarez kept them in his hands, till, finding the mischief Lucena did to the Spanish affairs, he consulted the marquis of Montalvan, and his brother, father Jeronymo Mascarenhas, both Portuguese, whether he should endeavour to make Lucena a friend by an act of generosity, or destroy him as an irreconcilable and dangerous enemy. The priest recommended the former, the marquis advised the latter method, which being most agreeable to Olivarez's nature, he approved. He had a Portuguese gentleman in his pay at Lisbon, who served him for a spy, and gave him good intelligence of the measures and resolutions of the king's council, which he discovered by his money or sagacity. This man was suspected by Lucena, and from the secretary's looks, and some marks of his displeasure, began to dread the worst, and to think of flying into Spain for refuge. Olivarez, to provide for his friend's safety, and effect his enemy's ruin, sent him the blank papers signed by Lucena, ordering him whenever he sent his advices to him in the usual private method, to send also at the same time, in a more public way, those very advices in the blanks with Lucena's name. These last were intercepted; and the king, strangely surprised, observed carefully the air, manner, and conduct of Lucena, but found no grounds for suspicion. Not knowing of himself what to think, he consulted some about him on the subject, who, envious of Lucena's credit and power, advised his arrest and punishment. As soon as Lucena was seized, Olivarez's spy sent others of the blanks with farther secret advices, being chiefly copies of letters and instructions to ambassadors abroad, which he had got from the clerks that copied them, and took care at the same time to have forged letters in Olivarez's name, written as it were in answer to former advices, and relating to secrets formerly discovered to be sent from Castile; and these were likewise intercepted. Lucena was surprised at the charge, and at seeing his name put to letters he had never wrote or dictated. This thing admitted of no defence but a denial of the fact, which he did with great indignation, and without any sign of fear. He owned it was like his hand; but at the same time asserted he had never wrote or given orders for any such letters, or had ever held any correspondence with Olivarez; and insisted that there was some fraud in this matter, which the judges ought with impartiality to examine, and by a due comparison of circumstances discover. His hurry of business had made him forget the blanks he had given his son, and he

really

A.D. 1643. really thought his name had been counterfeited. Judges, though otherwise regular and just in their proceedings, seldom mind what criminals allege for themselves; seeing what seemed to be proofs on one side, and encountered only by denial without evidence on the other, they condemned him, and he was presently after too hastily executed, protesting his innocence to the very moment of his execution, which happened a fortnight or three weeks before Olivarez's disgrace. The truth was soon known by that minister's triumph on the occasion, and by the declaration of the marquis of Montalvan's sons, but there was no calling Lucena to life. Thus the king of Portugal lost the service of the most capable, industrious, and affectionate minister he had in his service [1].

The first battle fought, and victory gained by the Portuguese, by the count de Alegrette.

The forces of Portugal, in the province of Estramadura, were commanded by Don Matthias Albuquerque, and consisted of six thousand foot and eleven hundred horse, with which he made an irruption into the Spanish province of the same name; but was quickly met by the Spanish army, which consisted of six thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse; upon which a battle ensued, and the Spaniards having the advantage in the beginning, pursued it with such impetuosity, that Albuquerque perceiving their foot uncovered, attacked them with such fury that they were quickly routed, with the loss of between two and three thousand men: an action great in itself, but of prodigious consequence at this juncture; and therefore the king rewarded his general with a pension of four thousand crowns, and the title of Alegrette. The Spaniards, to repair this disgrace, had recourse to their old expedient, and found ways and means to raise strong suspicions of treachery in regard to Don George de Mascarenhas, count of Monte-Albano, one of the privy-council, who had other considerable employments; whom the king caused to be arrested and sent prisoner to the castle of Belem, but without any circumstances of resentment or disgrace. Upon a strict enquiry the truth appeared, and the king, by a letter to the states, declared him perfectly innocent,

A.D. 1644. and restored him to his honours and employments [m]. About this time died the archbishop of Braga, who, from the time of his condemnation, had behaved with great decency and humility: when he found himself near his end, he sent to desire the king's pardon, and directed that his body should be buried on the outside of some parish-church,

[1] Le Clede. [m] Luiz de Meneses.

without

without monument, or inscription, oblivion being, in his opinion, the best that could befal a traitor[n]. Thus all things went to the king's satisfaction, except in the Indies, where, under various pretences, the Dutch kept the war alive, and continued to push their advantages, notwithstanding all the expostulations of the Portuguese in Asia and in Europe.

A barbarous conspiracy against the king's life accidentally discovered.

The next year did not produce any thing extraordinary, if we except the attempt made by the Spanish ambassador to assassinate the agent sent by the clergy of Portugal to Rome; which pope Innocent so far resented as to order the Spaniard to leave Rome immediately[o]: he was so gracious as to offer to name bishops in Portugal, and to cause them to be consecrated by his own authority; an offer which the king with great spirit rejected, and declared he would own no bishop who did not own him, and who were not named by him. In France the queen dowager proposed to the count de Videguira, that king Philip should give his master the kingdom of Sicily, in satisfaction of his pretensions. The count answered, that such a proposition might amuse children; but the king of Portugal would continue king of Portugal till God should be pleased to take him to a better kingdom[p]. The war now began to languish on both sides, chiefly for want of money, at least in appearance; but in reality both sides were weary of seeing their forces destroyed, and their countries ruined to no purpose; and what added to the trouble of king John, there were such misunderstands amongst his chief officers, that he ran far greater risks from their quarrels than from the forces of the Spaniards: the latter had once more recourse to their old intrigues of both sorts, in hopes that one would support the other; that is, they managed a false and a true plot at the same time. The former consisted in spreading new calumnies of the count de Monte-Albano, who was thereupon arrested a second time; and the view was to hinder any attention from being paid to informations relative to the second. They had corrupted one Dominic Leyte, a native of Lisbon, a man of mean birth, and of the most corrupt morals, who undertook to shoot the king as he passed in solemn procession through the street on the feast of Corpus Christi. For this purpose he hired several houses in the Turner's-street, and made loop-holes, where muskets were placed; so that if one missed

A.D.1645.

A.D.1646.

[n] Batt. Nani, Le Clede. [o] Luiz de Meneses. [p] P. Daniel, Mezeray.

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another might be instantly fired. This Dominic brought with him from Madrid a countryman of his, one Manuel Rocco, whom he appointed to wait for him at a certain place with horses, making him believe that he was jealous of his wife, and that he meant to sacrifice her in the midst of her gallants. The interposition of Providence prevented the execution of this black design; for though every thing fell out as he expected, yet at the sight of the king the heart of the assassin failed him; nevertheless, he went to his companion, and taking horse with him returned to Madrid. There fresh supplies, and higher promises, engaged him to renew the attempt; which, as they went back to Portugal, he communicated to Rocco, who commended his contrivance, admired his courage, and applauded the undertaking: but, entering Lisbon an hour before him, discovered all he knew to the government; upon which Dominic Leyte was arrested, convicted, and executed, acknowleging his crime, and professing his penitence [q].

Death of the infant Don Duarte, alliance with France, and disputes in Holland.

The king thought it now time to form the household of his son Don Theodosius, a prince of admirable endowments, who, to his father's affability and generosity, joined his mother's penetration and vivacity. He was not more beloved by his parents than by their subjects, who styled him the Delight of Portugal; and he knew so well how to sustain this high reputation, that by degrees a powerful party was formed in Spain in his favour from the very fame of his good qualities. This domestic happiness served, in some measure, to console the king for the loss of his brother the infant Don Duarte, who, after a long confinement, in which he was cruelly, as well as unjustly treated, and which he sustained with all possible courage and magnanimity, expired in the citadel of Milan, the Spaniards say of grief, the Portuguese of poison, but as the physicians reported, of a pestilential disease. The king, his brother, had practised every method that could be devised for obtaining his liberty, and expended vast sums of money for that purpose: but without effect; for the Spaniards knowing that the prince was an excellent officer, that he was passionately fond of his brother, and that his presence would put an end to the disputes among the Portuguese generals, were determined to keep him fast [r]. The count

[q] Luiz de Meneses, Le Clede.

[r] Franc. Velasci de Gouvea Perfidia de Alemania y de Castillaen la prision entrega Accusacion y Processo del Infante de Portugal Don Duarte, Le Clede.

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de Videguira, whom the king had raiſed to the title of marquis of Niza, had propoſed a treaty offenſive and defenſive with the crown of France, in which he was traverſed by the queen-dowager; but he managed his negociation ſo ably, that at length cardinal Mazarine offered him of his own accord ſix thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, in conſideration of a large ſubſidy to be paid by Portugal; which the marquis rejected in his turn, and in ſuch a manner that the refuſal did the crown of Portugal more honour, and perhaps as much ſervice as thoſe ſuccours would have done[s]. The miniſter the king ſent to Holland, Don Franciſco de Souſa Coutigno, managed his affairs there with extraordinary dexterity, and prevented them from ſending a ſtrong fleet in time to Fernambuco, by undertaking in his maſter's name that it ſhould be reſtored to them; at the ſame time he wrote to king John, "Save your honour, ſir, by diſavowing me, ſacrifice my head, but do not ſacrifice that place." After this, finding ſome attempts made to corrupt his ſecretary to diſcover the inſtructions he received from Portugal, he ordered him to take as much money as he could, and the king having confided to him ſome blanks with his name ſubſcribed, he filled them up with ſuch inſtructions as he thought moſt fit for the Dutch ſtateſmen to ſee. In proceſs of time, this contrivance being diſcovered, a meſſage was ſent him that they would confer with him no more, nor acknowledge him in quality of ambaſſador; he anſwered with great firmneſs, that the firſt was in their power, and what he could not help; but that his character depended ſolely upon the king his maſter[t]. However, as he could be no longer of uſe there, he was ſoon after withdrawn, and replaced by Souſa de Macedo, then the king's ambaſſador in England. A.D.1649

The king declines an offenſive war, protects the princes Rupert and Maurice, and differs with his ſon.

In the progreſs of the campaigns that were made this year, Don Juan de Acoſta, Andrew Albuquerque, and Sancho Manuel, diſtinguiſhed themſelves extremely; yet the king thought the triumphs of theſe prædatory expeditions a poor recompence for the great expence, the licentiouſneſs that prevailed among the troops, and the interruption of agriculture[u]. The two princes Palatine, Rupert and Maurice, having retired into the river of Liſbon, with a ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, they were purſued by Blake, who very peremptorily demanded them. It was

[s] Luiz de Meneſes, P. Daniel. [t] Le Clede. [u] Luiz de Meneſes.

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A.D. 1650. by no means the interest of Portugal to quarrel with the new republic; and some of the king's council both thought and said as much. Don John acknowledged the force of their reasons; but rejected their propositions, ordered his own ships to join the squadron of the princes, and to give the English battle, which the weather put out of their power, and Blake had besides the good luck to have fifteen sail of the Brazil fleet fall in with his, by whom they were all taken [w]. However, this diversion drawing him from the coast, gave the two princes an opportunity of putting to sea. The troops of Portugal and Spain being this year very inactive, prince Theodosius withdrew from court in the beginning of November, by the advice of some young people about him, and soon after appeared at Elvas. The king was extremely offended, but dissembled it; sent some great lords to attend him, and his secretary, with an order to return to Lisbon; which, as he obeyed with reluctance, and chiefly through want of money, the king received him coldly; and in reality this breach was never made up.

A.D. 1651. Don Francisco de Sousa Coutigno was now at the court of France; where, though he was able to make but little progress in his negotiation, yet he gained a perfect knowledge of the court, and prevented his master from having any reliance upon it: while Don Antonio Soufa de Macedo practised the same arts he had used in regard to the states, who complained that they changed the men but not the ministers [x].

Great and general dissatisfaction with the king's measures, tho' perfectly just and prudent.

The king, in order to prevent his son from visiting any of the provinces, gave him the pompous title of generalissimo of all his forces, but he was no longer summoned to council: the people of Portugal in general believed that the king was jealous of him, and, as is commonly the case, they admired the spirit and genius of the youth, and censured the king's conduct, which they did not understand. It was indeed extremely remote from their way of thinking; but Don John was nevertheless steady: he suffered them to find fault with his measures; but nothing could ever bring him to alter or to explain them. He found the charges of an offensive war too heavy for the kingdom: he perceived that his cavalry were inferior to the Castilians, and that it required some time to remedy this defect: he might have had money from the states upon the least intimation; but never was any monarch more greedy than he was modest in this particular;

[w] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Life of Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector. [x] P. Daniel, Le Clède.

he

he found a pretence for ſelling ſome of his own land, and with the money purchaſed horſes: he perceived that juſtice was very much decayed; and that the magiſtrates of towns made no ſcruple of diverting the revenue ariſing from them into their own pockets: he redreſſed theſe grievances effectually: he heard that many of the governors on the frontiers were arbitrary and avaricious; he ſent for ſeveral of them out of different provinces, and caſhiered them at once, rejecting all applications and ſubmiſſions. Some time after he ſent for and told them, "It was for your faults I broke you; and as I remember your paſt ſervices, you are reſtored." But the great ſecret of his government was his correſpondence in Spain. He ſaw how hard they were puſhed by the French and Catalans: he knew the king's obſtinate temper, and the maxims on which he governed, and therefore would take no advantage of him in his diſtreſs, that he might not rouze him to a reſolution of ſhaking off his diſtreſſes, by making peace with his numerous enemies, and turning his whole force upon Portugal. His views, therefore, were to divert this meaſure as long as poſſible, and to be provided againſt it when it could be no longer diverted; a ſcheme of policy prudent in itſelf, but not to be divulged either to a warm youth, or to all who had a ſeat in his council. But the prince, A.D. 1652. not comprehending this ſyſtem, and mortified with his father's behaviour, fell into a lingering diſeaſe, which filled the whole kingdom with ſorrow [y].

In the ſpring of the enſuing year the prince's health grew ſo bad, that he was by degrees obliged to keep his bed. Public prayers were made for his recovery, but in vain; for on the 15th of May he expired, when he had juſt entered into the twentieth year of his age. The king loſt alſo his elder daughter, the infant Donna Joanna; but theſe misfortunes, and his own infirmities, he bore with great fortitude [z]. The ſtates being aſſembled, gave him a tenth of every man's eſtate; promiſed him a fourth in caſe the Spaniards beſieged any town of note; and reſolved that the king might take what he pleaſed if they invaded his dominions with an army. The king thanked them, but told them he hoped he ſhould take nothing, and he was as good as his word [a]. All this time the war of excurſion was going on, with various ſucceſs on both ſides: but the Portugueſe troops were forming, part of the militia entering every year into the field, and another

The death of prince Don Theodoſius.

[y] Alles Brandano, Le Clede. [z] Luiz de Meneſes.
[a] Le Clede.

part into the garrisons, where they were mixed with invalids, that the vigour of one might be directed by the
A.D. 1653. skill and diligence of the other. The German, French, and Dutch officers formed the cavalry; so that they became daily better than they had been, less afraid of artillery, and infinitely more capable of changing their disposition, or rallying, as occasion required, to the great surprize of the Spaniards, who had beheld them before with a sort of contempt, which piqued a nation naturally brave, and very susceptible of offence.

Some suspicions of new plots, and intelligences of the Spaniards in Portugal.

Amongst other persons whom the king employed as spies in Spain, there was one father Antonio de Andrada, who reported at his return that Don Sebastian de Meneses, and his brother Don Diego, an ecclesiastic, had a treasonable correspondence with his catholic majesty's ministers; upon which they were both seized. As Don Sebastian was a man of great learning and probity, his misfortune occasioned a general murmur, more especially as Andrada had been his domestic, or at least his creature; but the king thought there was no harm in being safe [b]. He had been obliged to send an ambassador into England, who returned this year, but very disconsolate, though he had succeeded in his commission; for Cromwell caused his brother, Don Pantaleon Saa, to be executed on Tower-Hill, for a riot and murther in the New Exchange. This execution the king looked upon as a breach of the law of nations, as if that had been superior to the divine law, which requires that murther should be expiated by
A.D. 1654. the blood of the offender. The Dutch were this year driven out of Brazil [c], and the Portuguese out of the island of Ceylon [d], an event which was chiefly owing to the contempt of the king's authority in the East Indies, which he bore with his accustomed calmness; but would certainly have punished it if he had lived. The king being informed that his cavalry was now grown numerous, recalled the orders that he had given for suspending hostilities; and the incursions that followed were so much in favour of his subjects, that the people began to discern the rectitude of the king's politics, and acknowleged that what they took to be indolence was highly advantageous to the state. Their praises affected him as little as their

[b] Luiz de Meneses, tom. i. p. 362.
[c] Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. vii. p. 29. Voiage de Schouten; Voiez la Description, Hist. du Gouvernement, p. 124 and 133.
[d] Voiages aux Indes Orientes,

censures;

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cenſures: he was content with the applauſe of his own heart; and continued to purſue the public good with great conſtancy, and without the leaſt oſtentation; but his health daily declining, filled the whole nation with apprehenſions, more eſpecially when they ſaw the queen introduced into the council, a meaſure which they attributed to its true motive, his majeſty's feeling himſelf draw towards his end.

When the king's ends were anſwered by a defenſive war, he changes his meaſures.

At the opening of the ſpring the king ſent his orders to the generals and governors on the frontiers to alter their conduct, and to make incurſions into the Spaniſh territories; which, however, were but indifferently obeyed, for though the mob at Liſbon were extremely fond of military exploits that furniſhed them with news; yet the inhabitants near the frontiers, who began to taſte the ſweets of peace, and were become infinitely eaſier in their circumſtances than at the beginning of this reign, were far from being diſpoſed to run the riſks of renewing hoſtilities. This change of orders was not owing to any inconſtancy in the king's temper, or to his giving way to popular clamour. It was, on the contrary, the effects of the ſame refined policy which had been ſo long conſpicuous in his conduct. The court of France fed him with hopes of conſiderable ſupplies, as well as of continuing the war; but at the ſame time expoſtulated very warmly on his inactivity againſt the common enemy. It was therefore to ſilence theſe complaints that the king iſſued ſuch orders; and it was from his own great humanity, and ſincere tenderneſs for his ſubjects, that though he repeated them, he manifeſted no diſpleaſure at the dilatorineſs with which they were carried into execution [e]. At this juncture died pope Innocent the Tenth; upon whom all the intreaties of the Portugueſe and French clergy could make no impreſſion, or procure the leaſt relaxation of that ſeverity he had expreſſed in favour of the houſe of Auſtria. His ſucceſſor, Alexander the Seventh, affected to appear a pontiff of a very different character: he declared cardinal Urſini protector of the Portugueſe nation, and gave the king hopes, not to ſay aſſurances, of ſeeing himſelf reconciled to the ſee of Rome before his death [f]. In England things went entirely to the king's ſatisfaction, not only as the peace continued to be exactly obſerved [g] between the two nations; but as the war

[e] Luiz de Meneſes. [f] Le Clede. [g] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Life of Oliver Cromwell, lord-protector.

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A.D. 1655. with the Dutch proved a very seasonable diversion in favour of his subjects, and secured to them the important settlement of Brazil, which with so much hazard and difficulty they had recovered.

The generous and Christian death of John IV. surnamed the Fortunate.

The same orders were issued at the beginning of the next year, for the same reasons, and had pretty near the same effect. Don Francisco de Sousa Coutigno left Paris to repair to Rome, where he was acknowleged as ambassador from the crown of Portugal, treated with great civility and respect, but could not obtain an audience from the pope, and found himself embarrassed by all the artful delays which constitute the very essence of Italian politics. Antonio Raposo had better success at the Hague. The conquest of Ceylon had put the states into better temper, and disposed them to forget the expulsion of their subjects from Brazil. This minister was not a man of great family or fortune; and the archduke Leopold, who then governed the Low Countries, conceived he might be tempted by great offers to betray the secrets of his master. Raposo did not discover any distaste on the first overtures, which encouraged the archduke to write him a letter full of magnificent promises, which the Portuguese minister immediately transmitted to his master, as a convincing proof of his own integrity, and of the mean unprincely arts of his enemies[h]. This monarch's health, which had been failing for several years, though he concealed it all he could, and continued to hunt as often as the weather would permit, sunk all at once in the autumn. His stomach, which had an unnatural craving, lost all power of digestion: his physicians were at a loss about the nature of his distemper; but they very soon perceived, from the great decay of his strength, that his departure was at hand. He received their prognostic with the same steady calmness which had ever distinguished his character. He applied himself with great piety to make his peace with his Creator. He embraced his children with much tenderness; gave the queen ample instructions as to her conduct in the regency; admonished his ministers and generals to be faithful to their country, and to his family; sent for some of the nobility of the first rank, whom he had imprisoned for quarrels amongst themselves, and caused them to be reconciled in his presence. In fine, he breathed his last with all the constancy of a Christian A.D. 1656. hero, on the 6th of November, in the fifty-third year of his

[h] Le Clede.

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his age, having borne the title of duke of Barcelos twenty-ſix, of Bragança ten, and worn the crown of Portugal ſixteen years, abating a month. He was juſtly ſtyled the Fortunate; and might with equal propriety have been named the Beneficent, or the Good [1] (A). His corpſe, by

[1] Luiz de Meneſes, Le Clede, Rene d'Aubert de Vertot.

(A) This prince was born at Villaviciosa, on March the 13th, 1605. In 1630 he ſucceed his father in the title of Bragança. About three years after he eſpouſed Donna Louiſa de Guzman, the eldeſt daughter of Don Juan Manuel Perez de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia, by whom he had Don Theodoſius, born February the 8th, 1634; Donna Maria, born September the 18th, 1636; and Donna Catalina, born September the 25th, 1638. In his perſon he was middle-ſized, and not extremely well ſhaped; his hair was light; his complexion ruddy; his eyes ſparkling; and upon the whole there was ſomething very pleaſing and captivating in his countenance, and in his deportment. He was courteous, and converſed freely with the gentlemen of his court; but was very grave, and reſerved towards the grandees. He did not diſtinguiſh himſelf by a fiery and active courage; but gave, upon many occaſions, proofs of ſolid intrepidity. He was certainly a very refined politican; and this to ſuch a degree, that till the very decline of his life, moſt of his ſubjects thought him no politician at all. He was blamed for his harſh uſage to his ſon Don Theodoſius; and he was ſuſpected to be jealous of his martial genius. This ſuſpicion was well founded, and yet it was unjuſt; the king did not care he ſhould diſtinguiſh himſelf againſt the Spaniards, and the reaſon was, that he had a ſecret treaty with ſome of the Spaniſh nobility for reuniting Portugal to the Caſtiles, by placing Don Theodoſius upon the throne, and transferring the ſeat of empire to Liſbon, which had been once the deſign of Philip the Second. His piety was of the ſame ſtamp with his politics: he had a high reſpect for the church; but then this led him to expect that his churchmen ſhould have ſome religion. He had a high veneration for the inquiſition, and accepted of the confiſcations they gave him: but then the goods of private men, becoming his property, he thought it became him as a good king to grant them back to their families. As ſoon as king John was dead, it is poſitively aſſerted that the inquiſition acquainted the queen-regent, that by reſtoring the effects of perſons condemned by their tribunal, he had incurred the ſentence of excommunication; from which, however, they charitably offered to abſolve him; and accordingly in the preſence

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by his own directions, was interred in the church of St. Vincent.

Precautions taken by the queen-dowager at the entrance of her regency.

As the death of this monarch spread a deep and general consternation throughout all Portugal, so it might be in some measure said to fix the attention of all Europe. It is not easy to conceive a kingdom left in more perilous circumstances than this was. The king Don Alonso Enriquez, a child little more than thirteen years of age, reputed of no very sound constitution either in body or mind; the regency in a woman, and that woman a Castilian; the nation involved in a war, and this respecting the title to the crown; the nobility, some of them secretly disaffected to the reigning family, and almost all of them embarked in feuds and contentions with each other; so that the queen scarce knew who to trust, or how she should be obeyed. The Spaniards expressed a very indecent kind of joy at this event, as if the decease of the king must have been attended with the dissolution of government; but they had made no preparations to take any immediate advantage of the surprize it occasioned; and the firmness, vivacity, and great abilities of the queen very soon changed the face of affairs in that respect. The nobility were many of them inclined to have treated her as the queen-dowager Catharine had been treated on the accession of Don Sebastian; but it was not in their power. She appointed Don Francisco de Faro, count of Odemira, of the house of Bragança, governor of the king, and one of her principal ministers of state; and she made choice of Don Antonio Lewis de Meneses, count de Castenheda, to be his coadjutor. The former was a person advanced in years, possessed of a great estate, reverenced by the nobility, in great credit with the people, and entirely devoted to her interests, and those of the royal family: the latter was also a man in years, but not at all infirm, singular in point of talents, being equally capable of presiding in the cabinet, or of commanding in the field. These ministers sometimes differed with each other, but without prejudice to the queen's affairs; for as they both meant

A.D. 1657.

fence of the queen, her sons Don Antonio and Don Pedro, with other persons of high rank, they came, and with many solemn or rather ridiculous ceremonies, absolved the body of their deceased king, not a little pleased no doubt to triumph over the remains of him dead, whom, though very unwillingly, they had been constrained to obey while living,

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well, and as their differences arose purely from their sincerity, they united heartily whenever others attempted to undermine the queen's authority. The two secretaries, Pedro Veira and Gaspar de Faria, were honest and able men [k].

The first step of importance taken by her after she was established in the regency was sending orders to the count de San Lorenzo, who commanded on the frontiers, to act offensively; and though he was not fortunate in his attempt, yet the measure being right in itself was attended with good effects. However, the duke de St. Germain, an Italian in the service of Spain, and a very good officer, entered Portugal, besieged and took Olivença, and the little castle of Moron. The general, who was certainly a man of a confused head, and who wanted experience, though he had been in great favour with the queen, and had a considerable party at court, was removed [l]. He was replaced by Juan Mendez de Vasconcellos, a popular man, in great favour with the troops. He undertook to act offensively the next campaign, and to besiege Badajoz, which he invested accordingly; but he was obliged to raise the siege upon the approach of Don Lewis de Haro, with the whole forces of Spain, for which he was arrested, and in some danger of being punished: but the boldness and simplicity of his defence saved him. He said, "That he undertook the siege in obedience to the queen's orders, and for the honour of the nation, and that he had raised it without orders for the preservation of the army: that he knew the hazard he run when he did it; but that it gave him pleasure to think that at the hazard, or even the loss, of his reputation and life, the troops of Portugal had been saved." The council of war declared him innocent, and worthy of the queen's favour [m]. Don Sancho Manuel had commanded in Elvas, and defended it with equal spirit and conduct; but it was the count de Castanheda who raised that siege, and forced the army of Spain in their lines; in which he shewed himself an officer of a consummate judgment, as well as by hazarding nothing more when he had performed the service, upon which the very being of the state depended. This memorable action gained him deservedly great reputation; but it raised also, though unjustly, much envy and many enemies.

The war vigorously carried on, and the battle of Elvas gained by the marquis de Marialva.

A.D. 1658.

[k] Le Clede. [l] Luiz de Meneses, Aless. Brandano.
[m] Histoire generale d' Espagne, Luiz de Meneses, Le Clede.

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Count de Soura acts with great conduct and spirit at the court of France.

During the course of the two next years there passed nothing in the field that deserves a place. Spain was intent upon the war in Flanders and the peace she was negociating with France; and in Portugal the country was fairly exhausted: they were unable to recruit the army that had gained the late victory. In this situation the queen sent Don Juan Lewis de Costa, count of Soura, into France, with the title of ambassador; a man of much courage and integrity, and whom she had not used so well as he deserved. He acted with great spirit, spoke his mind in very plain terms to cardinal Mazarine, procured the count de Schomberg, and the earl of Inchiquin, to be sent into Portugal, and published a manifesto that had like to have revived the troubles in France[a]. He followed the cardinal to the Pyrenees, where he engaged the duke of Lorrain, the duke of Guise, and the duke de Harcourt, in the interests of Portugal; but Mazarine, to please the
A.D. 1659. Spaniards, compelled them to desist. He next communicated some propositions from the Spanish minister to the count, who rejected them with disdain. Mazarine told him they might meet with a better reception at Lisbon: in which, however, he was mistaken; for these terms being no other than, that things should be restored to the state in which they were at the revolution, and that the dukes of Braganza should be hereditary viceroys, under the guaranty of France, the count de Castanheda asked the cardinal's agent if he had any thing more to say; and upon his replying in the negative, "We are sorry, sir, added the count, that you should make so long a journey to say nothing." The peace of the Pyrenees produced some effects that were favourable, and some that were not only disagreeable but dangerous to Portugal. We may reckon among the first, the setting at liberty a great number of good officers, who willingly accepted the count de Soura's offers, and to the number of some hundreds repaired on board English and Dutch ships to Lisbon.
A.D. 1660. Amongst the latter we may account the desertion of the duke de Aveyro; who, retiring out of Portugal into France, passed from thence into Spain; as well as Don Ferdinand de Tellez, the Portuguese minister at the Hague, who acted the like dishonourable part, for which he was degraded, declared infamous, and executed in effigy at Lisbon.

[a] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot.

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The Spaniſh miniſter at Paris exerted all his influence to prevent the departure of the officers who were to accompany count Schomberg; and to procure a flat denial of an audience of leave to the count de Soura. He failed in both; the viſcount de Turenne interpoſed in reſpect to the former, and the king and the cardinal would not hear of the latter: on the contrary, they paid the count de Soura extraordinary honours, and ſtill more extraordinary reſpect. Both the king and the cardinal made him large preſents; and the latter told him, "That how much ſoever he had croſſed his meaſures as a miniſter, he had ever had the higheſt eſteem for his merit." The famous cardinal de Retz coming about that time to Paris, Mazarine aſked him if he had ſeen the ambaſſador of Portugal; and upon his telling him he had not, "Go then, returned he, and make him a viſit; you great men ought to be acquainted with each other [o]." Don Franciſco de Melo in England, and the count de Miranda in Holland, were alike ſucceſsful in their negociations; and though the actions of this campaign were not very conſiderable, yet ſuch as they were, they were every where in favour of the Portugueſe. It was, however, apprehended that the war would be carried on for the future at another rate, ſince the command of the Caſtilian army was given to Don John of Auſtria; who, beſides being the king's ſon, was in reality a perſon of great merit, as well as an officer who had ſeen much ſervice.

Count de Schomberg, and earl of Inchiquin, go with many officers to Portugal.

The queen-regent finiſhed in a manner her adminiſtration, with the marriage of her only daughter, the princeſs Catharine, once intended for Lewis the Fourteenth, with Charles the Second, king of Great-Britain [p]; one of the moſt fortunate events that ever happened for Portugal, ſince it immediately procured them the protection of the Engliſh fleets, reinforcements of ſome thouſands of horſe and foot, beſides adding much reputation to their affairs throughout Europe, which was the reaſon that the Spaniſh court had oppoſed it with ſo much heat, or rather paſſion. The command of the Portugueſe army was given to the marquis de Marialva, who was at this time ſole miniſter, by the death of the count de Marialva; but his conduct was by no means equal to what it had formerly been, the battle of Elvas having given him a contempt for the Spaniards, which induced him to act raſhly, notwithſtanding

The progreſs and concluſion of the war by the glorious victory of Montesclaros.

[o] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, P. Daniel. [p] Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne.

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his age and experience. Don John took advantage of this temerity, ſeized ſeveral places, inſulted the Portugueſe in their lines, out of which the marquis would have marched, in order to give the Spaniards battle, if count Schomberg had not ſhewn the folly of this meaſure, and if ſome other general officers had not vigorouſly oppoſed it[q]. Next campaign the command was given by the king, or rather by his miniſter the count de Caſtelmelhor, to Don Sancho Manuel, now created count de Villaflor, with whom Schomberg lived in a good correſpondence. Don John, however, having a numerous army carried all before him, and at length beſieged the city of Evora, an event which occaſioned a very dangerous inſurrection at Liſbon, and orders to be ſent to Villaflor to relieve the place at all events; but theſe orders came too late, the place being ſurrendered. However, it produced a battle, in which, chiefly through the ſkill of count Schomberg, and the valour of the Engliſh troops, the Spaniſh army was entirely defeated, with the loſs of between ſeven and eight thouſand men, moſt of their artillery and baggage. As the meaſures of the court were far from being ſettled at this time, the marquis de Villaflor, after all he had done, was removed from his command, and the marquis de Marialva placed once more at the head of the army. He acted offenſively, beſieged and took Valentia de Alcantara, and gaining other advantages againſt count Marſin, who commanded the armies of Spain, recovered that reputation which had been before upon the decline. He commanded the next year again, when the Spaniards, under the conduct of the marquis de Carracena, entered Portugal with a greater army than they had ever had before in the courſe of the war. Carracena beſieged Villaviciosa, the favourite ſeat of the houſe of Bragança, and one of the moſt beautiful places in the kingdom. The marquis de Marialva advanced to its relief: upon which a battle enſued, in which the Portugueſe gained a complete victory[r], which was the ſixth and laſt in the courſe of twenty-eight years war. It was chiefly owing to unforeſeen accidents, to the great abilities of Schomberg, and other ſtrangers, and to the determined courage of the foreign troops. This victory of Monteſclaros fixed the fate of the kingdom, though not of the king

A.D. 1665.

[q] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Kennet's Hiſtorical Regiſter, Heath's Chronicle, Echard's Hiſtory of England.

[r] Le Clede, Hiſtoire generale d'Eſpagne, Baſnage, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt Memoires contenant l'Hiſtoire de Portugal depuis le Traité des Pirenées de 1659 juſqua, en 1668, Aleſſ. Brandano.

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of Portugal; for at this time the intrigues of the court ran so high, that the most intelligent people saw the king would, sooner or later, be certainly deposed.

Character of Don Alonso VI. and his fierce and intractable temper.

The king Don Alonso Enriquez, having been struck with a palsy while an infant, was afterwards, on account of his weak state of health, treated with great indulgence; so that as he grew up his want of parts, and the defects in his education, were very perceptible. Some say, that the queen his mother had a much stronger affection for the infant Don Pedro, and endeavoured to feel the pulse of some great men about preferring him to his elder brother, at the time their father died; but the privy-council of Portugal were not at all inclined to make a breach in that succession for the support of which they were in arms; and besides, they could not comprehend how any could pronounce, with certainty, either as to the impuissance or incapacity of a child [s]. The queen readily yielded to these reasons, and took the best measures she could to render him worthy of that crown, that his birth entitled him to wear. The count de Odemira found it a very difficult task to manage this young prince, who had no inclination to letters, and who was prone only to those delights that he saw employed the minds of children of his own age, without considering the difference between their rank and his. The count de Odemira struggled with this disposition a little while, and even ventured to take some pretty strong steps, but he found it was to no purpose. Don Alonso, though not very sharp in other things, was quick enough in perceiving that he was a king; and this discovery was fatal to him. Such as had an opportunity of approaching his person, complied with every thing he desired, and commended every thing he did. Such as had no dependence upon the court declaimed against him with the utmost vehemence; and because he was guilty of some childish, and it may be, ill-natured actions, they ascribed to him all the foolish and cruel accidents that fell out about Lisbon, which are generally speaking not a few. In some things they certainly did him wrong; for they gave out that he was still paralytic on one side, though there appeared no marks of it, except the contraction of his right hand, and that consequently he was feeble and inactive: whereas, the errors of which he was really guilty, and which were magnified likewise, prove the direct contrary, since fighting of dogs, scowering the streets, and encoun-

s Rene d'Aubert de Vertot.

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tering three men alone, running at a bull, and other things of this sort, were no indications either of want of strength or of courage.

Antonio and Juan Conti, the sons of a Genoese pedlar, become his chief favourites.

Amongst the companions, or rather amongst the directors of the king's follies and debauches, there were two sons of a Genoese pedlar, Antonio and Juan Conti, called from the place of his birth de Vintimiglia. These, but especially Antonio, had an entire ascendancy over the king's affections, gained by subtle flattery, and fawning complaisance[t]. The count de Odemira once banished them, so that for a time he only saw them privately; but as he grew up he threw off all restraint, sent for them back to court, and made Antonio a knight of the order of Christ, a step which offended the nobility highly, who considered it as a prostitution of the order. Yet by degrees they began to court this unworthy favourite, and even the queen-mother stooped to make use of his interest; but Antonio, to whom cunning and artifice was natural, saw through this aim, and resolved to stand upon his own feet. It was with this view that he engaged the king to discard the old, and bring the young nobility into employments; and this he did, because he found it no difficult matter to gain and keep an influence over them, by the very same methods that made him so much master of the king. This conduct created great jealousies and heart-burnings; and as the infant Don Pedro was of a milder and graver disposition, sufficiently addicted to study, and very capable of receiving and taking advice, many applied themselves to him; a circumstance which raised a dislike in his brother, who wanted not penetration enough to discern how much higher he stood in the queen's good graces, and how readily he received and practised the lessons she gave him, to render himself esteemed by the nobility, and at the same time popular. In respect to the Contis, the infant was reserved and civil; but neither suffered their intimacy, nor ever made any use of their influence; which, as it grew daily stronger, and wrought more and more powerfully, so it gained them a number of dependents. Antonio, who did not want ambition, set himself up for a kind of minister, affected to give law, and to treat those who did not pay him the respect he thought due to him, with a degree of haughtiness that his enemies termed insolence. In this he was supported by the young noblemen he had introduced to power; and in a very short space of time he raised

[t] Account of the Court of Portugal.

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a faction ſtrong enough to give umbrage to thoſe, who, but a few years before, would have deſpiſed him, not only as their inferior, but as a perſon altogether below their notice [u].

The king grows impatient to exerciſe the reins of government without reſtraint.

The court was divided, ſome ſiding with the king, others with the queen, and a conſiderable party adhering to neither. Conti made it his chief aim to perſuade the king to take upon himſelf the government, urging that ſome former kings had directed the adminiſtration ſooner than he. The king was more ſwayed by his counſels, becauſe his mother falling ſick, in that interval all application was made to him, which inflamed him with a deſire of abſolute command. The queen recovering and reſuming the government, found the king more intractable than before, and perceived he was bent upon wreſting the power from her by force, if ſhe ſhould refuſe to reſign. This diſreſpect was intolerable to her ambitious ſpirit, who abhorred the thoughts of falling from that height in which ſhe had ſat ſo many years; nor could ſhe be without ſome concern for the kingdom, if left at the diſpoſal of a haſty and injudicious youth, beſet with dangerous and unexperienced favourites and counſellors. Being perplexed with theſe thoughts, ſhe reſolved to ſet up her younger ſon Don Pedro againſt the king, that in hopes of attaining the ſceptre through her means, he might be wholly at her devotion, and Alonſo, fearing to loſe his crown, might be kept in awe. To prepare the infant, who of himſelf was willing enough for this deſign, ſhe perſuaded him he ought to be declared prince and heir to the crown, inſinuating that his brother was impotent, and conſequently the regal dignity muſt devolve to him. For the better executing this plan, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to all the nobility, intending to call the cortes, or aſſembly of the ſtates, to confirm her reſolution; but finding greater difficulty than ſhe expected, moſt of the lords being averſe to ſetting up as it were two kings, to rend the kingdom and deſtroy themſelves, and thinking it unjuſt to conſider Alonſo as impotent, before any proofs were made of his ability, ſhe deſiſted from this method of proceeding, but not from the deſign. Her next contrivance was to adorn and dreſs the infant in the moſt coſtly and ſplendid apparel; to give frequent opportunities of ſhewing himſelf to the people; to accommodate him with a ſeparate houſhold, compoſed of ſuch as were diſaffected to his brother; and

[u] Le Clede, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt.

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to procure him the beſt palace in Liſbon, built by Chriſtopher de Moura, marquis of Caſtel Rodrigo. The infant being thus engaged, in oppoſition to his brother, and ſecured to herſelf, her next artifice was to counterfeit a deſire of quitting the regency, and retiring into a monaſtery. She drew up with this view a very plauſible and ſpecious writing, intimating her pretended deſign; and ſo framed this memorial, that the great men and principal miniſters to whom ſhe ſent it, ſoon ſaw into the concealed intention, which was, that ſhe deſired to be conſtrained to continue in the exerciſe of the regency, and to be induced to this condeſcenſion by the removal of Conti and the reſt of his party from about the king [z].

The queen ſupported by the council, ſeizes Antonio Conti, and ſends him into Brazil.

Thoſe to whom this extraordinary writing was communicated being her creatures, and fearing if ſhe abandoned the government, they ſhould be deprived by the king of the preferments they enjoyed, reſolved not to forſake her. In anſwer to her memorial, therefore, they gave her to underſtand, that however inclined ſhe muſt be to lay down the adminiſtration, it was not expedient to do it till ſhe had removed from the perſon of the king thoſe that ſeduced and led him into ill, or at leaſt idle courſes. Nothing could be more pleaſing to the queen than this anſwer, which fulfilled all her wiſhes without obliging her to expreſs them. But that all might appear to be tranſacted by the advice of the council, knowing that they were reſolved to execute her will, ſhe would have nothing done but what was diſcuſſed by them, and given under their hands. The council met accordingly, and though ſome of the graveſt among them oppoſed the deſign, as too viſible an affront to the king, yet it was carried that Conti and his adherents ſhould be ſeized, and ſent into baniſhment. In purſuance of this reſolution, the queen having ſecured the king in her lodgings, under pretence of buſineſs, the duke of Cadaval with his party entered the king's apartment, where Conti was. He ſuſpecting ſome danger locked himſelf in; but the duke, without any reſpect to the place, or to the remonſtrances of the count de Caſtelmelhor, who would have diverted him from that action, offered to break open the door: upon which Conti, ſeeing no hopes of eſcaping, and the count not able to relieve him, or acquaint the king, ſurrendered on promiſe of life. At the ſame time

[z] Cataſtrophe de Portugal na Depoſicao del Rey D. Alfonſo VI. & Subrogao do Principe D. Pedro eſcrita para guſtificaçao dos Portugueſes, por Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria.

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ſome others of Conti's party were ſecured in the palace and in the town, all of whom were immediately put on board a ſhip that lay ready to ſail in the river, and ſent away to Brazil[r]. The queen being informed that what ſhe had in effect commanded was put in execution, led the king into the great hall, whither ſhe had previouſly ſummoned the nobility, miniſters of ſtate, and magiſtrates of the city, the better to appeaſe and imprint an awe upon his mind. There a remonſtrance was made to him in the name of the kingdom, full of grievous complaints againſt his own conduct, and ſtill higher againſt his favourites; and at the cloſe they acquainted him, that to prevent any farther ill conſequences they had been obliged to ſend them into baniſhment: having taken this ſtep, they kiſſed his hand and departed.

This high wrought ſcheme of policy, which the queen had contrived to perpetuate her regency, was the very cauſe of her loſing it. The count of Caſtelmelhor, a man above exception for birth and parts, ſucceeded in the king's favour in the place of Conti, and began to encourage him in the reſolution of taking upon him the government. A young lady belonging to the queen, for whom the king had an affection, made him the more earneſt, diſcovering to him all his mother's private diſcourſes. The king, big with this deſign, prolonged the time of the count's waiting, that he might have his advice and aſſiſtance. He then retired according to cuſtom to Alcantara, a palace near Liſbon, carrying with him his brother and a great retinue. He returned the ſame day to Liſbon, and viſited the queen, to whom he behaved ſo kindly, that all reſentment ſeemed to be paſt; but on a ſudden, without acquainting her, he returned to Alcantara, accompanied only by the count de Caſtelmelhor, and the count de Atouguia; from thence he diſpatched letters into all parts of the kingdom, to the officers of the army and governors of towns, acquainting them, that being now at full age, he had taken upon him the government of his dominions. Then he ordered all the nobility and miniſters of ſtate, that were at Liſbon, to repair to him at Alcantara. The queen, aſtoniſhed at theſe proceedings, aſſembled the council of ſtate, where it was reſolved, that Emanuel Pacheco ſhould be placed upon the road to ſtop all thoſe that ſhould offer to repair to the king; that the queen ſhould write a letter to him in the

Don Alonſo having got a new favourite, breaks thro' all his mother's contrivances.

[r] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, Rene d'Aubert de Vertot.

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softest terms, desiring him either to delay for some time his taking the government upon him, or at least to admit her to bear a part with him; and that in case persuasion failed, she should use force to constrain him. Accordingly Pacheco turned back those that were going to Alcantara: the guards, and all the queen's adherents, were ordered to be in readiness to support her; and a letter was sent to the king from her, full of gentle and persuasive expressions; but before the letter could possibly be dispatched, the people of Lisbon, perceiving the court armed against the king, began to run to arms for his defence, fearing some violence might be offered his person. This zeal of the multitude quickly and effectually humbled the queen, who, seeing no hope of prevailing by open force, had recourse to intreaty, and therefore sent a submissive letter by the bishop of Targa. In this letter, among other things, the queen pressed the holding the cortes, or assembly of the states, that she might there resign the government; but the king and count perceiving this was a contrivance to gain time, thought it best to send her an answer by the bishop, importing, that the king, considering the great burthen that attended the government, was willing to ease the queen his mother, who had long laboured under it, of that toil, and to take it entirely upon himself. The queen, perceiving there was no hope either by force or address of retaining the government, resolved to quit it with an air of satisfaction. She desired, therefore, the king would return to Lisbon; and that the ceremony might be performed in the palace. The king delayed his return: but at length, finding himself secure, and the queen's interest declining, since the people at Lisbon had declared for him, he repaired to the palace; where, in the presence of the nobility, ministers of state, and magistrates of the city, the queen delivered up the seals into his hands, which is the usual ceremony in Portugal when a king takes upon him the government [z].

New intrigues at court by the fresh favourites, which the king encouraged about him

The queen-mother after this resignation began to talk of retiring from the world, but in such a manner that nobody believed she had any such intention; for sometimes she proposed building a new monastery, but could never find out a convenient situation; then of erecting an apartment for herself near some of the old ones, but none of them cared to admit her; this conduct was calculated to protract time, and to continue in the palace till some

[z] Le Clede, Account of the Court of Portugal.

emergency

emergency should oblige her son to call her once more to the government[y]. But now all the duty, reverence, and submission was made to the king. The nobility attended him, the clergy paid their court, and there wanted not crouds of sycophants to offer him all the incense of adulation. His principal ministers were the counts of Castelmelhor and Atouguia, and Don Sebastian Cæsar de Meneses. The partizans of the old government gave out confidently, that being himself void of sense he only spoke such words as they put into his mouth. Count Castelmelhor, endeavouring to establish himself absolutely in the king's favour, eased him as much as possible of public affairs, indulging his inclination to horses, arms, and even to women, but without any public scandal. At this juncture the count delivered out of prison Henry de Miranda, who had been confined by the queen-mother; and being brought to court he quickly became one of the king's greatest favourites, and yet there never happened the least jealousy between the count Castelmelhor and him; but it was otherwise with the count of Atouguia and Cæsar de Meneses; but not thinking himself yet thoroughly established he would not attempt so soon to remove them. At length, having gained the sole ascendant over the king, and having all things at his disposal, he lodged himself in the apartment that had belonged to prince Theodosius, the king's eldest brother. The only object of ambition remaining was the having some employment that might always keep him about the king's person; and there being none vacant he thought of one that had been suppressed, styled in Portuguese, escrivao prividade; that is, *the private secretary*. This he begged of the king, who readily granted it; though the secretary of state disputed it as being become a branch of his office. By this charge he also obtained the right to a seat in the council of state: but as prosperity commonly blinds favourites, so the prudence of the count having raised him so high, seemed to leave him. He began to bestow preferments without measure upon all his friends and adherents; and at the same time omitted not to crush and to destroy his enemies, that the power of one party, and the fate of the other, might be the sure basis of his greatness[z]. In the next

[y] Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria, Basnage Annales de Provinces Unies, Memoires d'Ablancourt. [z] Le Clede, Account of the Court of Portugal, Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria.

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place, he adviſed the king to ſhew ſome reſentment for the ſeveral affronts offered to his perſon, during the queen's regency, and particularly in forcing Conti out of his apartment, and other like inſolences, which if not puniſhed might draw him into contempt. In purſuance of this advice the duke of Cadaval, Garcia, and Emanuel de Melo; the counts of Soret, Pombeiro, and Pedro Vieira, ſecretary of ſtate, who had often reproved the king, and ſome others, were ſent into baniſhment, that ſome reſpect might be recovered to the crown.

The queen-dowager places all her hopes in her younger ſon Don Pedro.

This method of proceeding againſt ſo many perſons of note, gave occaſion to their partizans to revile the king and his government. The queen-dowager, ſeeing herſelf excluded from public affairs, laboured all ſhe could to ſtrengthen the party of the infant, and to hold frequent conſultations with him; wherein it was always repeated that the king was ſtupid and unfit to rule. Count Caſtelmelhor, who was not ignorant of their intrigues, contrived all the methods he could to ſeparate them, but in vain: for the infant, building upon the notion of his brother's incapacity, thought it better to be a king than to be next to a king. The count, ſeeing he could not prevail upon him to deſiſt from his cabals, perſuaded the king in the firſt place to change all his brother's ſervants, putting in their room ſuch as he could confide in, that for the future he might have the leſs opportunity of carrying on his deſigns. The next thing was to compel the dowager to retire from court. Upon ſeeing the king ſo inclinable to have her removed, ſhe had recourſe to her former diſſimulation, and aſked leave to withdraw to ſome private houſe, becauſe the apartment ſhe had begun to build was not yet finiſhed. The king's anſwer was, that it became not her grandeur to quit the palace for a private houſe; but that ſhe might cauſe more diligence to be uſed in finiſhing her ſtructure, which till then had gone on very ſlowly. Not long after, the king being informed that his mother made uſe of all the arts imaginable to advance his brother Don Pedro to the throne, he ſent an abſolute order for her to depart the palace. In conſequence of this, on the 17th of March, ſhe withdrew to the new apartment ſhe had built at a ſmall diſtance from Liſbon, being attended thither by the king, the infant, and all the nobility. The queen-mother thus removed, the infant ſeemed now wholly devoted to the king, except in one thing, which he knew to be offenſive to him, and that was frequently viſiting his mother, and holding private diſcourſes with her;

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her; nor was she wanting often in public, to warn him of the danger of this tender affection and duty towards her; but whether she really meant it as a caution to him, or rather did it artificially to make the king more odious, and procure themselves the greater commiseration, is not easily determined [a].

All power engrossed by the count de Castelmelhor, who undermines his competitors.

The king Don Alonso, to whom his mother's presence had been a curb, being delivered from that restraint, ran into all the vices of youth. Count Castelmelhor, fearing a disorderly life might hasten his fall, in whose ruin he must himself be involved, studied various means to reclaim him, or, when that could not be done, to conceal his extravagancies; but it is a work of great difficulty to correct the vicious inclinations of youth, especially where the person to be reformed looks on himself as above controul. In short, his vices were too visible to be excused; for the king giving a loose to his passions, the whole burthen of the government devolved in a manner upon the counts of Castelmelhor, Atouguia, and Cæsar de Meneses: the former had long meditated to overturn the other two; but as long as the queen continued at court, he durst not attempt it, for fear that having lost the king they should incline to go over and strengthen her party. But when she was expelled, he quickly circumvented the count de Atouguia, caused him first to be removed, and then banished. Meneses, warned by his example, in order to support himself, persuaded the king to recal Antonio Conti from Brazil, hoping that he being restored to his former post, would in gratitude stand by the person to whom he owed this favour. The count being apprised of this intention, so immediately wrought upon his easy master, that Meneses was banished before Conti arrived to support him. On the return of Antonio from Brazil, the ship that brought him was received into the port of Lisbon with the sound of trumpets, firing of cannon, and all other demonstrations of joy, as if it had been for the reception of some sovereign prince. Yet all this was but fantastic joy; for count Castelmelhor, having persuaded the king that as it was a vindication of his authority to recall him from banishment, so to entertain him at court would provoke the nobility, to whom his name was odious: for these reasons, without suffering him to land, he was sent into the country,

[a] Account of the Court of Portugal, Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt.

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with expreſs command not to come near the court [b]. To ſhew, however, this exile was not the effect of jealouſy, but of his care for the ſafety of the king, he failed not to careſs him at a diſtance, ſending him frequent preſents. A conſiderable employment falling, he conferred it upon him though abſent, and beſtowed a rich benefice upon John Conti his brother.

Antonio Conti endeavours to circumvent him, and is caught by the count in his own contrivance.

Conti, not ſatisfied with theſe benefits, uſed all his endeavours to obtain an interview with the king; and ſuch induſtry was uſed to compaſs this deſign, that at length he had a private meeting with Alonſo at Alcantara, the count being then abſent from court. At this conference the king's affection was ſo revived, that he offered to carry him immediately to Liſbon; but Conti, fearing his ſudden return might prove dangerous, deſired it might be poſtponed, and intreated the king to recall thoſe noblemen who had been exiled for adhering to his mother. This interview, and the propoſal which attended it, being known to the count, he diſcovered that Conti's deſign was to make a party to ruin him: to prevent his enemy and turn that deſtruction upon himſelf, he employed ſeveral ſpies, and at length found out that Conti had conſpired with thoſe noblemen to reſtore the queen to the regency, leaving the king nothing but the empty title without power or authority. Having got witneſſes to prove the plot, he acquainted the king, who appointed judges to examine the matter. Upon a full hearing ſeveral were convicted, but not one ſuffered death, only Don Theodoſius de Melo, brother to the duke of Cadaval, was baniſhed five leagues from Liſbon, Sebaſtian Cæſar de Meneſes into Algarve, and Conti to O Potro. The depoſitions in theſe proceedings involved the queen-mother; a ſecretary was ſent to examine her, but ſhe refuſing to anſwer, the king proceeded no farther [c]. Count Caſtelmelhor, elated with this ſucceſs, removed from the apartment he was in before, to another nearer the king, where it being obſerved that more court was made to him than to the king himſelf, his name was rendered odious, and he began ſoon after to decline.

Don Simon Vaſconcellos, brother to count Caſtelmelhor, after having ſerved in the army ſeveral years with great reputation, coming about this time to court, gained ſuch an aſcendant over the infant, that it was obſerved as

[b] Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria, Rene d'Aubert de Vertot.
[c] Le Clede, Account of the Court of Portugal.

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very remarkable to ſee the royal brothers, ſo differing otherwiſe in inclinations, and yet ſo addicted to theſe two brothers, that they ſeemed incapable of acting without them. The infant falling ſick, Vaſconcellos attended him with ſuch diligence, that he not only roſe higher in his favour, but incurred the ill-will of all his other ſervants; who quitted the infant, but in a very few days they were recalled by the king, except the count de Ereceira. The king alſo made Vaſconcellos not only gentleman of the bed-chamber to his brother, but alſo maſter of his houſhold. This ſtep diſpleaſing the whole family, they all quitted their employments, and others were put in their places, for the moſt part creatures of count Caſtelmelhor, and therefore not acceptable to the infant; who, thinking himſelf beſet with ſo many ſpies, reſolved to alter his courſe of life, in order at once to become leſs ſuſpicious to his brother, and at the ſame time more popular. Nothing could be more fit for his views than devotion; he therefore ſeemed wholly addicted to prayers, viſiting churches, reading pious books, and converſing with religious perſons. Thus taken up he ſeldom viſited the king. Some judged this change of life to proceed from Auguſtin de Ceuta's dropping dead at his and the king's feet; but thoſe who pretended to ſee farther, thought it only a device to gain the good-will of the populace [d]. Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, the marquis de Sande arrived at Liſbon, from France, where he had concluded a match for the king, with the princeſs of Nemours; and by the infant's orders had made overtures on his behalf to the duke of Bouillon's daughter, which alſo had taken effect, though the articles were not ſigned. This marriage was propoſed in order to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown, in caſe the king, as had been ſurmiſed, ſhould be incapable of getting children. But the infant having changed his mind, upon what account is uncertain, could by no perſuaſions be prevailed upon to conſent to this marriage. This match miſcarrying, the marquis de Sande enquired whether the reports that went of the king's impotency were true; and was aſſured by the count de Caſtelmelhor that the king had ſeveral illegitimate children, which was ſufficient evidence to refute that imputation. All things being then diſpoſed for the reception of the queen, the marquis returned to France, in order to conduct her to

[d] Baſnage Annales de Provinces Unies, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt, Relation des Troubles arrives dans la Cour de Portugal.

Liſbon,

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The queen-mother dies, little regretted by the king, but much so by Don Pedro.

Lisbon. On the 25th of February the queen-mother falling sick, and perceiving her end approach, sent to both her sons, who were then hunting at Salvaterra, to take their last farweel; but they did not return till the third day, when, having kissed her hand and received her blessing, they departed, and within an hour after she expired[e]. She was a princess of wonderful resolution, a great soul, and singular wisdom, which appeared in the administration of the government in peace and war. It was she, as some say, that determined her husband to assume the crown; she helped, beyond all doubt, to keep it on his head; and she, by her industry and care, secured it to his posterity. Her skill in government was above the capacity of a woman; and she was so sensible of the danger of discord between brothers, that she is believed to have obstructed Don Duarte from making his escape when confined, lest returning home he should envy the greatness of the king his brother. But what appeared most rare in her was, that being a Spaniard, a name odious to the Portuguese, yet she so carried herself that she gained the love and esteem of the whole nation.

The infant Don Pedro ill treated, and becomes thereupon an avowed malcontent.

The queen dowager being dead, the king believed himself more safe; and the infant, deprived of her support, thought himself more exposed. Count Castelmelhor, who till then stood in some awe of that young prince, acted now with more freedom. The infant growing more discontented, the king became more jealous of his reservedness, and averse to those he saw in his favour. Some of the infant's servants quitted him, and others were removed, so that his retinue was much below his dignity. He bore with this indignity till the news of the queen's being set forward obliged him to press the king, that he might make a suitable figure at her arrival[f]. But this measure was disputed and delayed till the 2d of August, when the fleet which brought the queen entered the river of Lisbon; of which intelligence being brought to the king, he received it without the least demonstration of joy, which was looked upon as an ill omen of that marriage. The infant being highly incensed against count Castelmelhor, as the only man that had obstructed his having those servants he desired, forbore not openly to threaten him when occasion should offer, which threats Vasconcellos, the

[e] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Account of the Court of Portugal, Le Clede, Bassnage, Le Clerc. [f] M. Fremont d'Ablancourt.

count's

count's brother, who was preſent, reſenting, quitted his ſervice. So there now remained but two ſervants of any rank about him, a circumſtance which led him to ſend to the king to deſire he would give him leave to retire from court. Nothing could have more incenſed the king than this meſſage; inſomuch that count Caſtelmelhor, fearing the flame of diſcord ſhould riſe too high, uſed all his intereſt to obtain for the infant thoſe ſervants he deſired, yet could never prevail. The infant perceiving the king was not to be overcome by the intreaties of the count, withdrew to Quelas, a league and a half from the city, accompanied only by Roderic de Meneſes. Fame, upon this retreat, divulged a report that all things were preparing for a civil war. At Liſbon Don Pedro's faction was more numerous than Alonſo's: the virtues of the former were extolled, and the vices of the latter were exaggerated; but after all, the affection of the one, and the averſion of the other, to count Caſtelmelhor, weighed more than any thing with the people, who bore him an implacable hatred. The nobility interpoſed to pacify the brothers, though without effect. When all other means failed, the queen prevailed that he ſhould not depart the court, and ſhould leave that affair to her management, a propoſal which he could not refuſe, being, as it was believed, not indifferent to her from the firſt ſight. At length, by the queen's mediation, the prince choſe new ſervants, and the king allowed [g] of them. Yet the grudges betwixt them were of a higher nature than to be ſo eaſily forgot; but Don Pedro covered them with deep diſſimulation: Alonſo had little of that art, and threatened much more than he would perform.

He firſt drives the ſecretary, and then the miniſter and favourite from court.

In order to render himſelf in ſome degree independent by acquiring a poſt, the functions of which might be ſupported by legal authority, he deſired the king would create him conſtable of Portugal. The miniſter, much alarmed at this demand, and ſuſpecting that the conde de las Torres, and the conde de St. Juan, two officers of great diſtinction and merit, were thoſe who put this project in the infant's head, adviſed the king not only to give him a flat denial, but order them immediately to their poſts. Don Pedro diſſembled, and the officers obeyed; but this interval of quiet did not laſt long. A Frenchman, ſervant to the queen, was murdered, and the aſſaſſin taking ſhelter

[g] Le Clede, Account of the Court of Portugal, Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria.

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in a church, could not be brought to juſtice. The queen was much provoked at this outrage, and the infant Don Pedro ſeemed more ſo. Both of them inveighed bitterly againſt the miniſter; but at length Antonio Souſa de Macedo, who was ſecretary of ſtate, became the victim, and the council ordered that he ſhould leave the court. In ſuch times of intrigue as theſe, plots, true or falſe, are very neceſſary inſtruments: the miniſter acquainted the king his maſter, that the infant had framed a project to ſeize his perſon, as the grand obſtructor of his deſigns, to tranſport him out of the kingdom, and in caſe of reſiſtance to put him to death; an accuſation which his majeſty ordered ſhould be enquired into. The infant retired to his houſe at Quelas; but at the ſame time declared, that it was not on account of this pretended deſign againſt the miniſter, but becauſe he had himſelf diſcovered the count had been endeavouring to ſuborn ſome of his ſervants to poiſon him: upon which the ſtorm roſe ſo high, that, after offering, though to no purpoſe, to beg the infant's pardon upon his knees, the count de Caſtelmelhor was compelled to quit the court, and to retire into a monaſtery [h]. The king, equally offended and ſuſpicious, perſiſted in the purſuit of his miniſter's meaſures, doubled his guards, and cauſed ſome new raiſed companies to be rendered complete for the ſecurity of his perſon, and of thoſe who ſtill adhered to him; precautions which alarmed the city of Liſbon, and increaſed the general diſcontent.

The king becomes ſenſible of his danger, and tries in vain to bring his old friends back.

On the other hand, the infant reſolved to root out all the miniſter's party about the king; for though the count himſelf was removed, yet his creatures remained at court, and nothing of moment was tranſacted without his advice. Before the infant could put his deſign in practice, he was ſaid to be advertiſed by the queen, of words the king daily let fall againſt him, and perhaps of more than ever had been ſpoken. This information obliged him to haſten the execution of his projects. The principal men at that time remaining near the king of the count's faction were Henry Enriquez de Miranda, Manuel Antunez, and Antonio Souſa de Macedo, ſecretary of ſtate. Of theſe the chief was Miranda, whom therefore Don Pedro firſt attacked, and to that end ſent ſome pretended friends privately to give him notice to depart the court

[h] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, M. Fremont d'Ablancourt, Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies.

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before he involved himself in greater danger. He was so frighted at this intimation, that, considering the expulsion of the count, and other alarming accidents, he attempted to kill himself; but being prevented fled, fearing to be torn to pieces by the rabble. Count Castelmelhor instantly advised the king to be more circumspect in his words and actions; for that it was easier by fair means to defeat the measures of his brother, than to crush him by open force. His advice being approved by the king, he summoned his brother to appear in council, where some important matters were to be debated; but no kind of letters were of any force to move him till the queen sent for him, when he appeared with a great train of followers, and conducted himself prudently [i]. The king received him less coldly than before; but being no master of the art, could not so well hide his just displeasure as the other. Not being used to that continual weight of business, he resolved to rest upon Antonio Sousa de Macedo, one of the count's creatures, who, for some words spoken to the queen, had been ordered into banishment; but lay still concealed at court. In order to raise him to the honour of prime minister, the king begged of the queen that she would forgive him, and consent to his return; but notwithstanding his repeated, and submissive intreaties, she remained implacable [k]. Alonso, to conquer her obstinacy, put into her hands the order of council for his banishment, wherein it was expressed, rather to satisfy her resentment than for his fault, they had for some days thought fit to send him into exile. This step so enraged her, that after venting her fury without any regard to the king's presence, she flung into another room, from whence she sent a billet to him, demanding to have Sousa severely punished [l]. The king, in hopes her passion would subside, concealed this billet; but he soon found his mistake, for their animosity daily increasing, the court was almost empty, few caring to hear the king's complaints, and she in secret studying revenge. Antonio de Sousa, in the mean time, appeared more openly in the palace, being well attended, to prevent danger. A report prevailed, that he threatened in case of being banished, he would repair to the army, with which

[i] Le Clede, Memoires d'Ablancourt. de Vertot, Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria. Annales des Provinces Unies.

[k] Rene d'Aubert

[l] Basnage

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he would return to punish their rebellion, with fire and sword. Many such rumours were confidently framed, and given out on purpose to incense the people against the king, and turn their eyes on Don Pedro, as their deliverer from tyranny and oppression.

Refuses to summon the cortes, suspecting an intention to depose him, but is compelled to it.

When things were thus disposed, the infant resolved by open force to expel Antonio de Sousa from court. For this purpose he went from his house to the palace, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and the whole city followed in a most tumultuous manner. When he arrived at the palace, he staid till the counsellors of state, summoned the day before, were come, and then, followed by them, entered the king's bed-chamber before he was awake; who no sooner opened his eyes than he was told by the infant, that his crown and person were in extreme danger, the multitude being in arms, demanding that Antonio de Sousa should receive condign punishment for the affront he had offered the queen. To these words he added more threats in the name of the people; but the king in a rage interrupted him, calling aloud for his sword. The infant, according to his cool and equal temper, offered him his; which the king would not accept. The noise of the multitude filling the palace, brought the queen to the king's apartment, where she found him in a violent passion; and enquiring, as if she had not known what the matter was, he told her, that Antonio de Sousa in despight of his authority had been murdered; and that now they came to force him to pardon the murderers. But she, who knew better, replied, that Sousa was living; an assertion which the king would not believe, till the duke of Cadaval brought him into his presence. At the sight of the secretary he was appeased, and then the queen, infant, and the rest of their followers, left him. When they were gone the king said, he forgave those who had so indecently urged the expulsion of Antonio de Sousa: to which declaration, the count de Sabugal answered, "They stood in no need of pardon, but deserved praise;" and this expression he repeated till the king told him, "He would bestow his pardon and his praise where, in his own opinion, each was requisite[m]." Antonio de Sousa continuing still in the palace, the infant consulted with his friends what was next to be done. One warmer than the rest said, "The next thing was to assume the crown, whilst the people's affections stood for him;" but

[m] Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal.

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he took him up very short, being unwilling to have the secrets of his heart pried into, as fearing an action done in so tumultuous a manner could not be long esteemed legal. It was resolved, therefore, that Antonio de Sousa, and Emanuel Antunes, should be threatened with death, unless they quitted the palace. They perceiving no power left in the king or their friends to protect them, retreated by night, without acquainting the king, to prevent becoming victims [n]. The king ordered search to be made for them next day, but in vain, his orders were now neglected. In this condition, forsaken by his friends and oppressed by his enemies, he knew not which way to turn himself, or of whom to ask advice. His council took part with the infant; his queen favoured him; the people followed him; and the nobility adhered to him. Things being in this extreme confusion, even the most moderate began to think no way was left to restore tranquility but assembling the parliament, or states. The magistrates of Lisbon, and the common-council, were the first who petitioned the king; but he, being sensible the only design was to dethrone him, put them off from day to day, without any positive answer. In consequence of this delay, they ventured to write to all the principal towns of the kingdom, exhorting them by petitioning in the same manner to extort the king's consent [o]. A few days after, the council of state, the queen and the infant being present, unanimously made application to him to the same effect. Convinced however, it was a design against his person, he became more obstinate in refusing, so that nothing was done that day: but the next, the council meeting again, and sending him a remonstrance full of invectives against his conduct, and urging the necessity of assembling the three estates; and not only the magistrates and multitude of Lisbon, but generally of the whole country, pressing upon him with threats, he was at last constrained to comply with their demand; for it was equally dangerous to refuse, or to call the cortes: however, yielding to necessity, he sent out writs of summons for the 1st of January [p]. The king, finding himself in imminent danger, resolved to retire into the province of Alentejo, causing horses to be provided, and boats to be got ready on the river for that purpose; but his brother, who wanted no in-

[n] Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria, Rene d'Aubert de Vertot.
[o] Le Clede, Memoires d'Ablancourt. [p] Relation des Troubles arrivés dans la Cour de Portugal.

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telligence, discovered, and prevented the design. At length not knowing what other step to take, and having scarce any to consult with, he ordered the writs, or letters of convocation to be drawn, and when they were drawn, refused to sign them. His pretence was, that the time of meeting was fixed in them to the 1st of January, whereas his intention was, that the states should not assemble till the 1st of February; believing it his interest to gain time. In the end he was constrained to comply, and to subscribe as they demanded [q].

The queen retires to a convent.

Hitherto the queen's presence was necessary at court; but this great step once gained, she either grew weary of the uneasy life she led, apprehended some greater mischief than she had hitherto met with, or held an elopement necessary to the accomplishment of her designs. Whatever the motive might be, the fact is certain, that on the 21st of November she quitted the palace, and retiring to a convent, wrote from thence a letter to the king; in which she represented, that she had left her family and her country, and had converted her estates into money, with a view of rendering herself acceptable to his majesty; that the usage she had received was insupportable; that he knew she had no reason to consider herself as his wife; that she desired to return on board the French squadron in the river; and to this step she desired his consent [r]. The king was exceedingly enraged upon the receipt of this letter. He went immediately, followed by a great train of attendants, to the convent of St. Clara, where he demanded entrance, and when it was refused, threatened to have the doors broke open; but the infant coming, with many of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, prevailed upon the king to return to the palace. Next day there was a great consultation held at the convent; and the queen applied herself by letter to the chapter of the cathedral church of Lisbon, desiring that they would enquire into the evidence of the impuissance of the king, and, for the honour of the nation, render her justice [s]. In the mean time the infant Don Pedro, and the council, considering the state of public affairs, the great danger the kingdom was in, and the little hopes there

[q] Account of the Court of Portugal, Leandro Dorea, Caceres e Faria. [r] Le Clede. [s] Basnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. i. p. 818, 819, 820. Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Memoirs d'Ablancourt.

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were of seeing these evils redressed by Don Alonso, resolved, that he should be desired, for the sake of the public safety, his own, and that of his family, to resign in favour of the infant Don Pedro his brother. This resolution was executed the next day, the marquis de Cascaes going, at the head of the council, to the palace in the morning to propose it. The king was in bed, and fast asleep; the marquis ordered him to be awakened, and knocked violently at the door for that purpose; and, when he had obtained admission, is said to have upbraided him in very coarse terms with his laziness, and want of attention to public affairs at so critical a conjuncture; adding, that since he must be sensible he wanted abilities to govern a kingdom, the wisest thing he could do was to resign it to the infant his brother. The king roundly and absolutely refused to consent; but not long after the infant came to the palace, caused him to be put under confinement in his apartment, where one of his favourites, making him believe that he would be immediately restored to his liberty, persuaded him to sign a short act of renunciation in favour of his brother Don Pedro, and his lawful issue, reserving one hundred thousand crowns out of the revenue of the crown, together with the house of Bragança and its dependencies [t]. At the same time a paper was offered him, containing an acknowlegement that his marriage was null for want of consummation, which he said he could not sign till he had the advice of some divines, and which, when he had some time after consulted them, he did sign [u].

Don Pedro proclaimed regent only, and not king.

As the prince had now carried his point, the council and nobility who concurred with him, thought it expedient to proclaim him immediately in the palace, with all the solemnity that could authenticate such an act. In the resignation of Don Alonso, it is said, that he renounced of his own proper will, and in virtue of his royal and absolute power, his kingdoms in the same manner they were possessed by him in favour of his brother; but notwithstanding this renunciation, it was held improper for the infant to assume immediately the regal title; he was therefore proclaimed regent-governor of the kingdom of Portugal [x], of the arms and justice thereof, which

[t] Supplement au Corps Universelle Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, tom. ii. par. i. p. 381. [u] Rene d'Aubert de Vertot, Le Clede, Leandro Dorea Caceres e Faria. [x] Relation des Troubles arrives dans la Cour de Portugal.

seems to have been the style of the duke of Coimbra while he governed the kingdom during the minority of Alonso the Fifth. As soon as this proclamation was made, the people expressed their joy by the loudest acclamations; and it is said, that, in the midst of their transports, not a few cried, "Long live the king Don Pedro!" But as to what some have affirmed, that the infant himself sought that title, it is by no means proved, nor can there be any reason assigned why, if this was truly his intention, he did not take the title of king in virtue of Don Alonso's resignation. In respect to what others have asserted, that the queen had this more at heart, as having already in view her marriage with the infant, it is, though much more plausible, yet not altogether free from objection[y]. As for the infant, he might easily see it to be his interest rather to assume the title of regent than of king; because it was more suitable to the constitution, more consistent with the honour of a monarchy, and infinitely more compatible with the pretences on which this extraordinary proceeding was founded. It took nothing from his power; he had the full administration: and though the style of his brother was used, yet it was used by him, and not by his brother. Without the title of king he was enabled to do all that a king could do; and with the title of king Alonso remained a prisoner, and could do nothing. Besides, it was more consistent with his character, with that modesty and moderation he had shewn in all his actions: now, if this was his real disposition, his conduct was perfectly just and natural; but if this modesty and moderation were affected, then this very affectation tied him to act as he did; for if he had immediately taken the title of king, it would have been a very impolitic discovery of his ambition; and would have rendered it manifest to the whole world, that he had hitherto only acted a part: again, as to the queen, though the vanity of her sex, and the vivacity of her country, might
A.D. 1667. prompt her strongly to aim at preserving this title; yet the same prudence that induced her to lay it aside the moment she entered the convent, might prevail upon her to wave it during the life of Don Alonso, that she might seem to have lost by the exchange both her title and her fortune. The enemies of the queen affirm she was a

y Memoires, Historiques, Politiques, Critiques, & Litteraires, par Amelot de la Houssaie, tom. i. p. 331.

very

very artful woman, and at the ſame time deny her the uſe of this art in this inſtance, where it was of the greateſt importance to her. The reader will think for himſelf; but whatever opinion he forms of this tranſaction, he will ſee, that after gratifying their ambition and their inclinations, the prince Don Pedro, and the princeſs of Savoy, had no temptation to deny themſelves the ſmall merit of declining to accept a title, and a title which, if they had accepted, muſt have been ridiculous, ſince, diſtreſſed and depoſed as he was, Don Alonſo, ſo long as he lived, would ſtill have been conſidered as a king; and their quality, inſtead of being heightened, would in reality have been leſſened by a ſtyle to which they could have no juſt pretenſions.

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH VOLUME.

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